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MARIETTA, OHIO, 1788-1888

FOUNDATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT BEYOND THE OHIO RIVER

FEW American cities, large or small, have ever come so prominently before the intelligent public of the country within a twelvemonth, or commanded more universal consideration than Marietta, Ohio. The reason for all this is obvious to the student, but to the general reader it is still something of a conundrum. The taste for historic research which has been stimulated, and the fresh interest awakened in neglected mines of historic lore, have, however, awakened a healthful spirit of inquiry in the American brain. The career of an old college town is usually picturesque and always interesting. But the circumstances attending the origin, settlement, and century's progress of Marietta, irrespective of the charms of classical associations, have been such that it seems as if old Rome herself never emerged from a more fascinating crucible of fact, romance, and tradition.

The beginnings of this beautiful town were the beginnings of Ohio and of the great Northwest. It has often and appropriately been styled the "gateway" to the vast unexplored regions beyond. The causes and sources of its birth and being, the moral, religious, and intellectual character of those who first planted their homes upon its soil, and its development in the midst of Indian wars and seasons of great distress, form a study which has of late commanded closest attention from many of the ablest and ripest scholars in the land.

The whole story is of national significance. At the recent centennial celebration in Marietta, in which commercial attractions had no part whatever, the rare phenomenon was witnessed of continuous public exercises of a strictly historic and literary character for five successive days, and that without any perceptible weariness or diminution in the enthusiastic audiences. These meetings were held in a temporary structure built for the occasion, which accommodated with comfortable seats some four or five

thousand people, and it was crowded to its full capacity, morning, afternoon and evening. Distinguished statesmen and brilliant orators stood upon its artistically decorated platform and thrilled the listening throngs with the music and magnetism of their eloquence. From the earliest ages of the world historic writing and historic discourses have been esteemed the greatest of intellectual achievements. And just here in the heart of America this truth was forcibly illustrated. In an assemblage which only the theme itself could have brought together, and while reviewing a past that has no parallel in importance or in romantic incident since the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, the speakers displayed powers hitherto unrevealed, and history appeared in its marvelous depth and beauty of color. The Northwestern and many other states sent representatives, while from New York came Senator William M. Evarts, former Secretary of State, to participate in the jubilee. He pointed out in brilliant sentences the reason for this anniversary in "the specific transaction of the promulgation of civil government and the opening of the courts" just a century ago—"a wonderful exhibition of the energy and courage and purpose and forecast of the forerunners of this present population." He furthermore said, "the great fact exists that this civil government, in all its virtues, and in all its powers, that was then opened on the edge of the great forest, has never been overthrown, and the courts of justice in the Northwestern country that were then opened have never been closed in this great region then and thus taken possession of in the name of law and government and justice."

The spacious centennial building occupied historic ground in the city park on the high bank of the Muskingum river close by its junction with the Ohio. It was erected upon the exact spot where General Arthur St. Clair was inaugurated the first governor of the Northwest Territory one hundred years ago, July 15, 1788. Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, in his masterly oration, drew a graphic picture of the inaugural scene—the new governor, whose portrait is so familiar to us all, "with the few settlers grouped about him in a leafy bower, and the Ordinance of 1787 for a constitution"—a picture which Senator Daniel declared "worthy a frame of diamonds and gold, and a drama grander than any ever seen in the white temples of the Greeks and Romans."

In our illustration of the park, the temporary building must be imagined; the grounds were set apart and reserved for commons by the original settlers. The oldest church edifice in the Northwest Territory overlooks the park, as may be observed, and also the family mansion of Governor Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., the first postmaster of Marietta, and

the state executive, it will be remembered, who did more during the war of 1812 than any other governor of his time to aid the country in organizing militia and garrisoning forts.

Marietta, as laid out in the long ago, included the ancient remains of a fortified town, the elevations, truncated pyramids, etc., being similar in form to those since discovered in Central America. The greater part of these pre-historic earthworks were reserved as such for many years, and two of the more notable squares are still the property of the city, for

public uses. Moundsquare, on the high ground, is an object of surpassing interest; the mound itself is a perfect circle at its base, one hundred and



fifteen feet in diameter, and from the summit — reached by stone steps — a magnificent view is obtained of the Ohio river and its fruitful banks for



1. MOUND SQUARE. 2. MARIETTA'S HISTORIC PARK.

many miles. This perfectly symmetrical mound is in the centre of the square, which since 1801 has been used as a cemetery.

The founders of Marietta represented the best blood of the eastern states, very many of them were college bred and highly cultivated by study, and the influence of their lives was a benefaction to the forming communities about them and to all the generations since their time. A

writer in the *Family Magazine* of 1834, who professes to have known many of them personally, says, "A better set of men altogether could scarce have been selected. With the information which belonged to them was mingled a little of that pedantic love of ancient learning which tinged the better educated of those days. This showed itself in a meeting of the directors and agents held, July second, upon the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the city which had just been laid out, and also the public squares. As yet the settlement had been called merely 'The Muskingum,' but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette."

The naming of Marietta was in graceful recognition of the courtesy shown to Franklin by the Queen of France, together with her efforts to influence the king and the French court in behalf of America in the time of its great need. The meeting of the directors and agents adjourned from July 2 to August 14, when the following was adopted. "Resolved; that the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum be called Marietta; that the directors write to His Excellency the Count Moustiers, informing him of their motives in naming the city; and request his opinion whether it will be advisable to present to Her Majesty of France a public square." Marie Antoinette was much gratified when she received this intelligence, and immediately ordered a bell sent to the new town for a public building, but unfortunately the bell was lost at sea.

The founders next gave imperishable proof of their classic tastes in the names they bestowed upon the wonderful ruins about them; they called one ancient square *Quadrandon*, one *Cecelia*, another *Capitolium*, the great road through the covert way *Sacra via*, and the square upon which quarters were erected for their garrison, with block-houses at the corners, *Campus Martius*.

Hildreth leaves a pleasant record of the first Fourth of July celebration in the wilds of Marietta. The day was ushered in by a salute at Fort Harmer, and at two o'clock the ladies and gentlemen were conducted to a spacious bowery that stretched along the banks of the Muskingum. He says: "the table was supplied with venison, bear-meat, buffalo and roasted pigs, with a variety of fish. Among the latter was a pike which weighed one hundred pounds, and when suspended upon a pole from the shoulders of two tall men, its tail dragged on the ground. The officers of the garrison attended, and many patriotic toasts were drank. Among the toasts (there were fourteen) were "The Friendly Powers Throughout the World," "The New Federal Constitution," "His Excellency General Washington," "The Society of the Cincinnati," "The Memory of Those who have Nobly

Fallen in Defense of American Freedom," "The Amiable Partners of our Delicate Pleasures," and "The Glorious Fourth of July." An oration was delivered by General James M. Varnum, one of the recently appointed judges of the territory, in which he said: "We have made provision among our first institutions for scholastic and liberal education; and, conscious that our being as well as prosperity depends upon the supreme will, we have not neglected the great principles and institutions of religion. Many of our associates are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue, and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics. Were the paths of life entirely strewn with flowers, we should become too much attached to the world to wish even to exchange it for a more exalted condition. Difficulties we must expect to encounter in our infant state; but most of the distresses common to new countries we shall never experience, if we make use of the means in our power to promote our own happiness."

These festivities occurred two weeks prior to the establishment of civil government under St. Clair's rulership. On the same day a code of laws suited to the exigencies of the colony were posted upon the smooth trunk of a large beech tree. The settlers who dined together that Fourth of July were without roofs to their heads as yet, were living in tents chiefly; but there was apparently no lack of hilarity at the banquet. The bright, clever men present indulged in sallies of wit and humor as heartily as if they were dwelling in marble halls. They were exultant over their prospects under the new order of government; yet while they were as familiar with the provisions of that immortal document, the Ordinance of 1787, as our readers are supposed to have already become, they could hardly have prophesied the magnitude of the blessings it was destined to secure to them, to their children and children's children, to all future generations, and to the millions yet unborn. The eminent author, Dr. Hinsdale, truly says: "No act of American legislation has called out more eloquent applause than the Ordinance of 1787. Statesmen, historians, and jurists have vied with one another in celebrating its praises. In one respect it has a proud pre-eminence over all other acts of legislation on the American statute books. It alone is known by the date of its enactment, and not by its subject-matter. It is more than a law or statute. It was a constitution for the territory northwest of the river Ohio. More than this, it was a model for later legislation relating to the national territories; and some of its provisions, particularly the prohibition of slavery, stand among the greatest precedents of our history."

The steps through which the nation acquired its title to the Northwest

Territory—the discussions, protests, remonstrances and petitions, which finally resulted in the cession to the Union by the states of their vacant lands—is an interesting morsel of our country's annals, but does not come within the scope of this paper. The simple facts are that New York conveyed her claim to Congress on the 1st of March, 1781. Virginia released hers upon the first of that month, three years later. Massachusetts delayed till the 19th of April, 1785, and Connecticut till the 14th of September, 1786. And when this public domain was secured it could not be fully nationalized under the Articles of Confederation. Thus the land-question, with its inevitable mixture of state and national ideas, harassed and tormented the public mind until the Constitution went into operation. In the meantime the Ohio Company of Associates was formed, negotiated for and purchased of Congress one and a half millions of acres in the Muskingum valley, and the forty-eight pioneers led by General Rufus Putnam had

been on the site of their chief city since the 7th of April. The details of these preliminary events bristle with instruction; but they have been so many times and so admirably recited within the past few months that neither student or citizen can hereafter be excused for lack of information. The coming of the first governor was daily expected, and as his approach could not as now be heralded by electrical instrumentality, it was a season of anxious outlook. On the 9th of July the guns at Fort Harmar announced his presence there, and a glad shout echoed through the woods of Marietta.

Governor Arthur St. Clair was then fifty-four years of age, a distinguished soldier, a sterling patriot, skilled in the civil law, and an



OUTLINE OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.
[From an Old Print.]

accomplished gentleman. He was of Scotch birth, the son of the Earl of Roslyn. He had been educated at the University of Edinburgh, and in 1758, when only twenty-four, came with Boscawen's fleet to America and served in the remainder of the French war. In 1760 he married Phebe Bayard, whose

mother was the sister of Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts. He was an officer in the Revolution, a friend of Washington, and at the time of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, president of the old Congress. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th of July he stepped from the barge in which he had crossed the Muskingum from Fort Harmer with his attendants, and was received with military honors in the bowery (now the park) by General Rufus Putnam, the supreme judges, and all the principal inhab-



GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM.

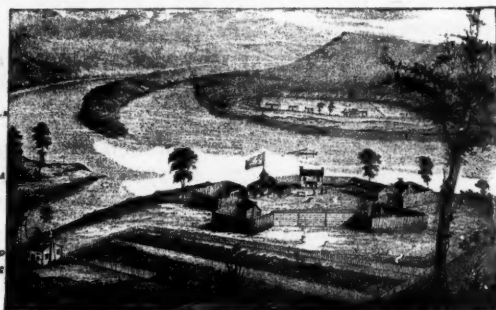
itants of the place. Winthrop Sargent, the secretary of the territory, a young man of ability from Massachusetts, "a soldier, civilian, a member of learned societies and a poet," read the governor's commission, the Ordinance of 1787, and the commissions of the first judges, General Samuel Holden Parsons, General James M. Varnum, and Hon. John Cleves Symmes. The provisions of the Ordinance made the governor and these judges a temporary legislature with all necessary powers.

Foremost, as you will notice, among those to welcome Governor St. Clair on this memorable afternoon was Rufus Putnam, one of the original founders of the Ohio Company and afterwards its superintendent. He was a tall, well-proportioned man of fifty, of soldierly bearing and commanding presence, and of quick, decisive, almost abrupt manners. Being very kind-hearted, however, he never failed to be conciliatory when the occasion warranted. He was charming and impressive in conversation, possessing a rich fund of anecdote and ready information on all topics. In his youth he had been a careful student of mathematics, and attained great proficiency in its application to navigation and surveying. It was the ability he displayed as an engineer that first attracted Washington, who pronounced him a more competent officer in that line than any of the French gentlemen who had been trained in the profession. Through his correspondence with Washington at the close of the war he was the motive-power in creating the system of laying out the public lands in townships. Congress, in 1785, appointed him to command the survey of a part of the Ohio country, but having important engagements General Benjamin Tupper was appointed in his place. The latter proceeded to Pittsburg, but trouble with the Indians obstructed the contemplated survey until General Parsons should succeed in concluding a treaty with them. General Tupper was a close observer, and became enthusiastic over the fertility and beauty of the land. When he returned east he visited General Putnam at his home in Rutland, Vermont, and the two men spent the whole night of January 10, 1786, devising the scheme of an association for purchasing a large tract west of the Ohio river. Thus originated the Ohio Company. The next day they issued a public notice; and in due course of time the learned and versatile Rev. Manassah Cutler was sent, accompanied by Winthrop Sargent, to New York city to make the purchase, and arrived there in time to take a hand in the great act of legislation, the passage of the famous Ordinance, which was to be so beneficial in its results. General Putnam removed his family to Marietta in 1790, which then consisted of his wife, six daughters, two sons and two grandchildren.

General Tupper journeyed west the second time in June, 1786, and the survey was completed under his direction. He returned home, and brought his family to Marietta in the summer of 1788. His eldest son, Anselm, who like his sire was an expert surveyor, and also the first school teacher in Marietta, came with the pioneers on the 7th of April. General Tupper took his family to reside in Campus Martius as soon as a habitation was ready. His home was in the west-front facing the Muskingum river. General Putnam's was in the south-front facing the town. Colonel Ichabod Nye's

was in the line facing the west-front; and Winthrop Sargent's was next to General Tupper's. Minerva, the eldest daughter of Tupper, then twenty-four years of age, was the wife of Colonel Ichabod Nye, and with their two little ones had made the tiresome journey over the mountains at the same time as her father and family. Their descendants are now among the prominent residents of Marietta. Rowena, the general's youngest daughter, was a beauty of twenty-two, and presently had won the heart of their next-door neighbor, the secretary. She had a twin sister, Sophia, the wife of General Nathaniel Willys, who was left behind in Massachusetts. General Tupper had two younger sons, Edward and Benjamin, who subsequently intermarried with the Putnams. The general died in 1792, at the age of fifty-four.

The first judges were notable men in many respects. Samuel Holden Parsons was a trained jurist, with a clear con-



FORT HARMER.



A sketch
Of the Ohio Company's
Purchase.

Settlements in the Ohio Company's Purchase.

- 1 Black House at Big Bottoms
- 2 West end of Ohio
- 3 Fort Foy - Waterford.
- 4 Campus Martius - Marietta.
- 5 Fort Harmer
- 6 Fort Mass - Belvoir.
- 7 Marietta - Lower Settlement.
- 8 Donation Lands: 100,000 acres.

OUTLINE MAP OF THE OHIO PURCHASE.

ception of human rights and a wide acquaintance with the principles of common and international law. His age was fifty, about the same as that of Generals Putnam and Tupper. He was born in Lyme, Connecticut; his father was the minister of the town, and his mother a sister of Governor Matthew Griswold. He had been esteemed a military genius in the Revolution, was one of Washington's major-generals, and had since filled many positions of trust. In 1785 he had been sent by Congress to the Ohio country to treat with the Indians for their title to a considerable tract of land, which was accomplished January 31, 1786. He was one of the active spirits in locating the Ohio purchase. The fact that Fort Harmer had been completed by the government in 1786, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers—a fort large enough to receive a regiment of soldiers, affording protection to settlers in the vicinity—was one of the potent influences that guided the choice. General Tupper was in favor of it, and the Rev. Manassah Cutler was advised by Thomas Hutchins the geographer, by all means to decide upon the Muskingum in preference to any other part of the state. Thus these three directors of the company appear to have controlled the question of location. Our view of Fort Harmer is from a sketch made in 1790 by Joseph Gilman. General Parsons married into the celebrated Mather family of New England.

James M. Varnum was the youngest of the three judges, being in his fortieth year, which he had indeed but just completed prior to his sudden death. He was reputed one of the most eminent lawyers and distinguished orators of his time; he came from Rhode Island, although of Massachusetts birth, and was a graduate of Rhode Island College. A sketch of his career with an excellent portrait appeared a year ago, in the *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887.

Hon. John Cleves Symmes arrived with his family and a party of thirty settlers August 27, 1788. His equipage consisted of eight four-horse wagons. He was an educated man of Long Island birth, who had been a member of the old Congress, and was chief justice of New Jersey at the time of his appointment as judge of the Northwest Territory. He married Susan, the eldest daughter of New Jersey's famous war governor in the Revolution, William Livingston, the lady who by her heroism and tact saved her father's correspondence with Washington and Congress from falling into the hands of the British. A party of the latter crossed the bay into New Jersey at night with the avowed purpose of seizing Governor Livingston, and a farmer's son on a fleet horse, without saddle or bridle, galloped in advance to the governor's residence to give him warning; he escaped, and in the moment of departure confided these papers to his

daughter, who crammed them into the box of an old sulky and had them taken to the attic. Then she stepped out upon the roof of the piazza to watch for the red-coats. Day was just dawning when they approached, and a horseman dashed forward and begged her to retire lest some of the soldiers from a distance mistake her for a man and fire at her. She tried to climb in the window but could not, and the officer seeing her dilemma sprang from his horse, and running into the house gallantly lifted her through the casement. In thanking him she inquired to whom she was indebted for the courtesy.

"Lord Cathcart," was the reply. Quick as thought she asked him to do her a favor—to protect a little box which contained her own personal property, offering in the same breath to unlock the library where her father kept his papers. A guard was promptly placed over her box while the house was ransacked. The Hessians stuffed a quantity of old law papers into their sacks to which the young lady with affected reluctance directed them, and found when they had tramped back to New York that their troublesome burden was worthless. This lady was a descendant not only of the long line of Livingstons, but through her mother of Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls, and the first lord of Phillips manor. Her daughter married William Henry Harrison, and was the grandmother of the present Republican candidate for the Presidency—Benjamin Harrison. General Lew Wallace in his new biographical volume describes the wedding of "Old Tippecanoe" from which the following is extracted:

"When Fort Washington was established at Cincinnati, Harrison was stationed there. Duty called him to North Bend, and he became a guest at Judge Symmes residence. It was not long until he succumbed to the black eyes of Miss Anna. She was at the time twenty years of age, small, graceful, intelligent, and by general agreement, beautiful. He was twenty-two, with a reputation well established as a gallant soldier. The two were mutually pleased with each other, and an engagement followed, which could hardly fail to be satisfactory to the father. The judge, in fact, consented to the marriage; but, hearing some slanderous reports of Harrison, he withdrew his approval. The lovers were in nowise daunted. November 29, 1795, the day appointed for the wedding, arrived. Judge Symmes, thinking the affair off or declining to be present, rode to Cincinnati, leaving the coast clear. In the presence of the young lady's step-mother and many guests the ceremony was performed by Dr. Stephen Wood, a justice of the peace.

Some time afterward Judge Symmes met his son-in-law. The occasion was a dinner-party given by General Wilkinson to General Wayne.

"'Well, sir,' the judge said, in bad humor, 'I understand you have married Anna?'"

'Yes, sir,' Harrison answered.

'How do you expect to support her?'

'By my sword and by my own right arm,' was the reply.

The judge was pleased, became reconciled, and in true romantic form happily concluded the affair by giving the couple his blessing."



CAMPUS MARTIUS.

[From an antique sketch by Mr. Horace Nye.]

Until the 19th of August, 1788, there were no women or children in the Marietta settlement, the families having been left behind until the pioneers prepared something better than tents to dwell in. On that date General Tupper and his party arrived, Colonel Nathaniel Cushing and family, and

Major Nathan Goodale with his wife and seven children, two of whom were young ladies. They had met Rev. Manassah Cutler on his way to Marietta to attend a meeting of the directors, and all came down the Ohio river together. Colonel Nye left the travelers at Wellsville and finished his journey by land on the Virginia shore, reaching Marietta a little in advance of the others in time to provide shelter for his young wife and little ones. The other ladies and children slept that night upon the boat. The next day they landed amid the greatest enthusiasm, and were ceremoniously conducted to their quarters in Campus Martius.

Dr. Cutler had made the journey from Ipswich, Massachusetts, in four weeks. He says in his entertaining journal that in nearing the new town he first saw the fort which was very pretty. "We landed at the point and were very politely received by the honorable judges, General Putnam, and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings which is a marquee. It rained extremely hard in the evening and at night I drank tea with General Parsons. Wednesday, August 20—Went a little over the ground. Major Sargent and myself went over to the garrison; paid my compliments to His Excellency. Was introduced to General Harmer and lady, Major Doughty, Captain McCurdy and lady. We came over in the barge to the hall with His Excellency, the ladies and officers. Barge rowed

by twelve oars—awning—Sargent in the stern, the word 'Congress' painted on the blade of each oar; well disciplined in rowing. . . . We landed up the Muskingum opposite to the Campus Martius. A handsome dinner with punch and wine. The governor and the ladies from the garrison very sociable. Miss Rowena Tupper and the two Misses Goodales dined, and fifty-five gentlemen."

Hildreth as well as Dr. Cutler furnishes a picturesque glimpse of this dinner given in honor of the governor, the northwest blockhouse to the fortress being so far completed that the tables were laid in the new hall. The arrival of Dr. Cutler and the ladies added immensely to its attractions. On the Sabbath following Dr. Cutler preached in the same hall. He says in his journal, "People came from the Virginia shore and from the garrison. Began with short prayer, read Scripture, and sang three times." The local courts were about this time instituted, and the first judges of the court of common pleas were General Putnam, General Tupper and Archibald Cray; the clerk was Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., the sheriff Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, a man six feet four inches high and large in proportion. The opening session of this court was on September 2, and the ceremonies attending it were extremely imposing. A procession in which all the inhabitants and the military officers from Fort Harmer participated, headed by the stalwart sheriff, Colonel Sproat, with a drawn sword in his right hand and the wand of office in his left, marched through the town escorting the judges and Governor St. Clair and the supreme judges of the territory to the hall in Campus Martius, which from a dining-room and a church was now converted into a court-room. Prayer was offered by Dr. Cutler. The formalities ended, Paul Fearing, a young lawyer of twenty-six was admitted to the bar; he afterwards became an eminent judge and member of Congress. A few months later Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., then twenty-three years of age, was admitted to the bar, and these two young attorneys were the only practitioners in Marietta for nearly three years. At the adjournment of the first session of this court, Dr. Cutler writes: "The judges and myself dined with the governor at Fort Harmer. Genteel dinner; fine fruit. Mrs. Harmer is a fine woman. Returned before night." On the 7th of same month, which was Sunday, Dr. Cutler writes: "Pleasant day and full meeting. Many of the people on the Virginia shore were over, and most of the gentlemen from the garrison. Dined with Captain McCurdy and Dr. Scott on venison steak and squirrel pie. Very good dinner. Mrs. McCurdy is very agreeable."

A few days later the court of quarter-sessions was first opened. The justices were Generals Putnam and Tupper, and the assistant justices,

Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., and Thomas Lord, from Lyme, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale who had studied theology and often officiated as a clergy man, and Isaac Pearce. The early settlers of Marietta were not all judges and justices, as the mention of so many might indicate, but they were very numerous. In 1790 Joseph Gilman succeeded Judge Crary in the court of common pleas, and in 1792 Dudley Woodbridge, John J. Pettit, Daniel Loring, and Robert Oliver were appointed to the bench. Griffith Greene was appointed judge of the court of quarter-sessions, and after the death of Varnum became one of the directors of the company. He brought his family to Marietta in 1788, moving his household goods, mechanical and agricultural implements, and a large library of valuable books from Rhode Island in three large wagons. He was under forty, a tall, graceful, talented man of refined manners, who always dressed in the fashionable style of the Revolution. Another Rhode Islander in the Marietta colony was Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Revolutionary fame, whose wife was the sister of Governor Hopkins, and whose daughter Catharine married Colonel Sproat. One of Rev. Manassah Cutler's sons, Major Jervis Cutler, came at the age of nineteen with the forty-eight pioneers, but he did not make this place his permanent abode. Ephraim Cutler, the eldest son of the minister, removed to Marietta in 1795, and was appointed a judge, a member of the legislature, was in the convention that framed the Ohio constitution, and in many other ways led an active and useful life in the growing town.

The first frame house in Marietta was built by Joseph Buell and Levi Munsell. Buell was a young unmarried officer in the garrison stationed at Fort Harmer as early as 1786, two years before General Putnam and his party reached the Muskingum. He brought his bride to Marietta in 1789, and became one of the leading men in affairs—was a judge in the court of common pleas, state senator for several terms, and one of the two major-generals of Ohio from 1802 until his death in 1812. One son and one daughter are still living, charming representatives of old-time manners and principles.

A writer from Marietta in October, 1788, gives us the following picture of the fort: "*Campus Martius* is the handsomest pile of buildings on this side of the Alleghany Mountains, and in a few days will be the strongest fortification in the territory of the United States. It stand on the margin of the elevated plain on which are the remains of ancient works, thirty feet along the high bank of the Muskingum. It consists of a regular square, having a block-house at each angle, which serve as bastions to a regular fortification of four sides. The curtains are

composed of dwelling houses two stories high, eighteen feet wide, and of different lengths. The block-houses and curtains are so constructed by high roofs, etc., as to form one complete and entire building. The block-house intended for the bell, with a part of the adjacent curtains, has a hall appropriated to public use, where three hundred people may assemble. The open space within the square of buildings is one hundred and forty-four feet, on each side, in the center of which a well is digging (upwards of eighty feet deep). There will be seventy-two rooms in the building exclusive of the lofts and garrets, which at twelve persons to a room (a moderate proportion in case of necessity) will lodge eight hundred and sixty-four. I expect the whole will be completed by the 1st of December."

The first town meeting in Marietta was held February 4, 1789. Judge Crary was chosen chairman, and the clerk was Colonel E. Battelle, a graduate of Harvard College in 1775. Judge Crary, Robert Oliver, Elijah Backus from Norwich, Connecticut, Winthrop Sargent, and Haffield White were chosen a committee to form a system of police. Two days later the little community was treated to a genuine wedding. Rowena, the pretty daughter of General Tupper, bestowed her heart and hand upon Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the territory and subsequently governor of Ohio from 1798 to 1801. General Rufus Putnam in his judicial robes performed the ceremony. This was the first wedding in Marietta.

The reports that found their way to the East from the settlement were not altogether cheerful, even during the first year. One writer said: "I find Marietta a poor muddy hole—the mud here is more disagreeable than the snow in Massachusetts." Another wrote: "A few log huts are scattered here and there, only a few feet above the tall stumps of the trees that have been cut away to make room for them. Narrow footpaths meander through the mud from cabin to cabin; while an occasional log across the water courses afford the pedestrian a passage without wetting his feet." General Parsons, however, writes in a different strain under date of December 11, 1788, and gives some bright glimpses of social life. He says: "We are constantly putting up buildings, but arrivals are faster than we can provide convenient covering. Between forty and fifty houses are so far done as to receive families, and ten more are in building. We still continue our Sabbath exercises, and last Monday we had the first ball in our country, at which were present fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have seen in the old states. I mention this to show the progress of society in this distant country, and believe we shall vie with, if not excel the old states in every accomplishment necessary to render life happy. My wife agrees to

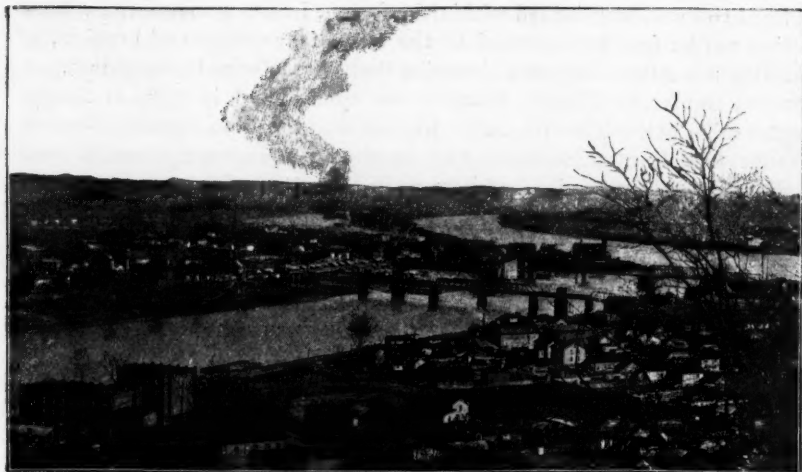


VIEW OF MARIETTA IN 1790.

[From an antique sketch by Judge Joseph Gilman.]

send one of our daughters next summer, and with the family to remove when I can make it convenient."

Governor St. Clair brought his family to live in Campus Martius in 1790, and occupied the southwest block-house which had been fitted up for his convenience. His household consisted of three daughters, one son, and a housekeeper. Mrs. St. Clair remained in charge of their princely domain in Pennsylvania, known as "Pottsgrove." The governor's eldest daughter, Louise, was a bewitching beauty, refined, intelligent, animated and witty, and soon turned the heads of all the young men in the settlement. She was in perfect health and extravagantly fond of out-of-door life. She rode spirited horses, dashing through the open woodlands at full gallop, leaping over logs and obstructions without fear; she out-skated the best skaters in the garrison with graceful ease, eliciting plaudits from young and old; in hunting she was an expert, and could load her rifle and fire with the accuracy of a backwoodsman—killing a squirrel in the highest tree and cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision; and she would often walk for miles with the rapidity of a ranger. One of the most unique tableaux in the historic "pageant" at the recent celebration, represented "Louise St. Clair and her admirers." The irresistible belle was seated on a log upon a primitive sled, drawn by a dozen or more young men. She was wrapped in furs, and a furious



GLIMPSE OF THE SAME LOCALITY AT MARIETTA IN 1888.

[From a Photograph.]

snow storm was raging; but she was distributing her words and her smiles all the same between three or four of her more determined suitors who walked by her side.

The historic "pageant" referred to above deserves more than a passing word, but our space is limited. It was a study of the people of a century ago, admirable in conception and charming in execution as delineated under an electric light. Descendants appeared in the actual costumes of historic characters, in many instances representing actual scenes in their lives. "The first civil court, September 2, 1788," was particularly effective. There were so many judges in those days that if a group of men were standing together and some one in passing shouted "Judge," they would all turn to respond. There were also sixty commissioned army officers among the settlers during the earlier years of Marietta. "The Party at Blennerhassetts in 1805," displayed some rich costumes, and the identical furniture of the Blennerhassetts was shown in the tableaux. Studies of this character are instructive, and we commend the example of Marietta to other towns of Ohio at their approaching centennials.

The Indians were perfectly friendly for a time, and visited the settlement with great frequency. But troubles arose, and there were five years when it was unsafe to travel from place to place; the inhabitants were

obliged to dwell imprisoned within the forts. In the works of the wildest fiction can be found no parallel to the tales of hardships and heroism, of thrilling adventures and tragic events, that characterized this period. A fortress similar to Campus Martius was constructed in 1789, at Belpre, twelve miles below Marietta, on the high bank of the Ohio, opposite Blennerhassett Island, in which about two hundred people were crowded until Indian hostilities ceased. And here, as in Marietta, refinement and culture were conspicuous. Elijah Backus, one of the pioneers of the country, in 1792 purchased of a Virginia gentleman two islands in the Ohio river, subsequently for half a dozen years known as "Backus's Islands."

In 1798 Harman Blennerhassett paid \$4,500, for the upper half of one of these islands, which has ever since borne his name. He was a scion of the nobility of Ireland. The old home of his family was Castle Conway, in the county of Kerry. He was classically educated, sharing the honors of Trinity College, Dublin, with his celebrated relative, Thomas Addis Emmet. The two read law together, and were admitted to the bar on the same day in 1790. Blennerhassett instead of practicing his profession gave his attention to the sciences, music and literature. He inherited a princely fortune, but becoming involved in political troubles sold his estate and went to England, where he married the accomplished daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Agnew, of the Isle of Man, whose father, General Agnew, was of the British army in America and fell in the Revolution. Blennerhassett and his wife sailed for New York in 1797, and becoming dazzled with the wonderful stories about the Ohio country went to Marietta the same autumn, and spent the winter there. They found the society congenial and the country charmed them. They explored the vicinity for a plantation and finally bought this wild romantic island-property of Mr. Backus. They chose it partly for its beauty, were however influenced by its near proximity to Belpre with its well-educated settlers and protecting fort, but the turning point in the decision was the fact that the island was under Virginia laws enabling its owner to hold slaves, which he could not do on Ohio soil. Both Blennerhassett and his wife went to the island and occupied a deserted block-house while projecting improvements and preparing to build a permanent home. Fifty thousand dollars were quickly expended, much of which fell like a benefaction among the mechanics and farmers of Marietta and vicinity. It was the first large amount of money that had stirred their ambition within the decade. The grounds and gardens and river landing were fashioned after European models. An English landscape gardener was imported to superintend the planting of ornamental trees, hawthorn hedges, and flowering shrubs. These were grouped

in the most tasteful manner, among which serpentine walks were graveled, bordered with flowers; and arbors and grottos covered with honeysuckles and eglantine roses, were dropped here and there at convenient distances apart.

The mansion was built on a costly scale. The front with its wings formed the half of an ellipsis, one hundred and four feet in extent, facing the north and overlooking a handsome lawn of many acres, with a view of both sides of the Ohio river as far as the eye could reach. Smooth drives and walks and an imposing gateway with large stone pillars gave to the whole a pleasing effect. A large farm below the house was brought under cultivation, and orchards of the choicest varieties of fruit, in part imported from Europe, were planted and cherished with constant care. The interior of the house was correspondingly elegant in its appointments. The entrance-hall was broad and decorated after the fashion of the old Tudor mansions of England. The drawing-rooms were luxuriant with mirrors, gay colored carpets, rich curtains and light airy furniture of the Marie Antoinette style, and the side-boards in the great dining room were filled with massive silver plate and costly glass. Blennerhassett had before leaving London provided himself with a large and valuable library of classical, scientific and other books, and with a philosophical apparatus. He fitted up one apartment for these, calling it his study, where he passed much of his time in reading and experimenting.

During these months of building and furnishing they were much in Marietta, and were hospitably entertained by the best families. Mrs. Blennerhassett, who was very fond of dancing, was present at most of the balls and assemblies which were frequent in Marietta and Belpre after the Indian war. When the island mansion was completed, Mr. and Mrs. Blennerhassett returned these civilities in the most delightful manner. Parties of young people were invited, who usually came down the river in row-boats, as the country was so new that carriages were little used. Ladies at whose houses the Blennerhassetts had been honored guests, came in response to their hospitable summons, and spent days and even weeks at the "enchanted isle." Dinners were given to many celebrities in military and civil life, the formalities of which had the flavor of courts. Mrs. Blennerhassett was an accomplished scholar, and sparkling in conversation. She fascinated everyone with whom she came in contact. She was tall, dignified and graceful, in fact almost as tall as her husband, who stood six feet in his slippers. Blennerhassett dressed in the English style of the times, wearing scarlet or bluff small-clothes, a coat of velvet or blue broadcloth, and silk stockings and silver shoebuckles. Mrs. Blennerhassett wore a great variety of colors.

Her costume when she rode on horseback was a scarlet broadcloth riding habit with gold buttons, and a white beaver hat crowned with a long white ostrich feather. She often rode a spirited horse to Marietta, twelve miles, to do the shopping and marketing for the family. On these rides she was generally accompanied by a colored man-servant in showy livery who, Hildreth tells us, "had to apply both whip and spur to keep in sight of his mistress as she dashed through and under the dark foliage of the forest trees, reminding one of the gay plumage and rapid flight of some tropical bird winging its way through the woods." The residents of Marietta for eight years were accustomed to the coming and going of this pretty apparition; and Mrs. Blennerhassett left the contents of many a well-filled purse among the merchants and trades-people. In 1806 the fatal acquaintance with Aaron Barr turned the tide of affairs—the results of which to the Blennerhassetts are too well-known to be recited here.

From the very first, as might have been predicted in such a community, schools were maintained in Marietta. Teachers were always to be found among the new residents, and some of those who taught while the settlers were pent up in the forts were university graduates. As early as 1790 the question was successfully agitated of appropriating funds for school purposes. After the Indian war ended steps were taken to found an academy. The first public meeting with this in view was held in 1797, and Rufus Putnam, Paul Fearing, Griffin Greene, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., Charles Greene, and Joshua Shipman, were appointed a committee to prepare a suitable house. The "Muskingum Academy" resulted therefrom, and is said to have been the first seat of learning of its character west of the Ohio river. The original academy building was used for church worship until 1808. David Putnam, who graduated from Yale in 1793, was its first principal. Among its teachers subsequently were graduates from Dartmouth, Yale, Harvard, Williams, Amherst, and other eastern colleges. The standard of instruction was such that almost uninterrupted facilities during its first one third of the century were furnished in Marietta for education in the higher English branches, and for such classical training as was needful in preparation for college. In 1830 was established the "Institute of Education," a further step in advance, embracing a group of four schools, the two higher being known as the High School and the Ladies' Seminary.

But the time was drawing near when Marietta was to have a veritable college of her own. The intellectual and moral forces which had conspicuously ruled her destiny thus far sought expression in this broader field. The valley of the Ohio was becoming popular, and the province of Mari-



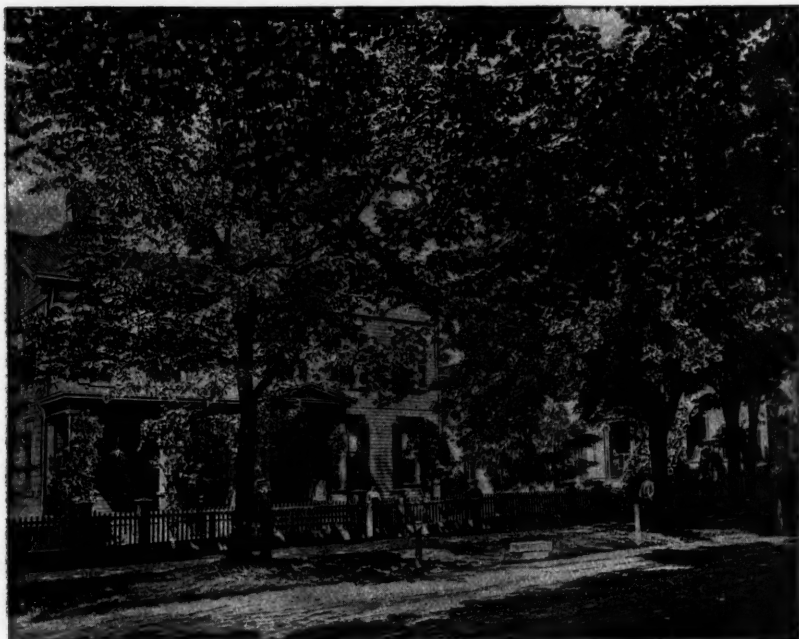
MARIETTA COLLEGE IN 1883.

[From a Photograph.]

etta was obviously to educate, or in the language of Rev. Dr. Linsley, "to make herself a radiating point for the diffusion of wisdom and knowledge." Her sons had been sent east for college training during the decades of primitive travel; now when the improved facilities rendered journeying comparatively easy she would open her arms, not only for her own, but for the sons of her neighbors and her friends. The college was distinctively the outgrowth of Marietta culture. The movement in 1832 was really the beginning of the institution, but the preliminaries were not settled until 1835, when it was duly incorporated as "Marietta College." Its first nine trustees all bear familiar names. Douglas Putnam, Dr. John Cotton a graduate of Harvard, Rev. Luther G. Brigham, John Mills, Arius Nye, Caleb Emerson, Dr. Jonas Moore of Dartmouth College, Anselm Tupper Nye, and John Crawford. As the college was founded by Marietta men it was fitting that it should be christened with the old historic name of the town. The southern building of the present group was built in 1833, and for nearly seventeen years it served all purposes—for chapel, library, recitations, etc. The history of the rise of this college is very like that of other colleges, with, however, some interesting variations. The buildings were erected almost entirely with home funds, although in its infancy extraneous aid came towards the payment of professors and other

expenses. The first attempt to raise money for building, in 1833, resulted in \$8,000, of which the trustees contributed about one half. Just as the institution was starting into life a gift came of \$1,000 for books, and the scholarly trustees proceeded immediately to invest it in Greek and Latin classics, with lexicons, grammars, and other helps. It was said of these trustees, perhaps truly, that they held books in higher esteem than buildings, but they were evidently determined to build up a college whose high intellectual culture might be blended with all the Christian graces. They represented three denominations of Christians, but as trustees they knew no religious differences. Their work grew, and in 1845 they obtained an amendment to their college charter enabling them to increase the number of trustees; thus fifty or more names have since appeared upon their lists. The same year (1845) the corner stone was laid for the middle building of the sketch (finished in 1850), the ceremony being performed by Hon. Lewis Cass, who was connected by marriage with the Nye family. The northern edifice was erected in 1870. This now is the home of the library of the college, which has grown into such admirable proportions that it is full a third larger than Yale could report at its one hundred and fiftieth birthday.

In the same ratio that the college was an outgrowth of an atmosphere of taste and learning has the institution in return given its own vigorous literary influence to the town. Where scholars, professors, and active students reside, the young breathe a perpetual admonition to beware of ignorance. A college never fails to give tone and stimulus to other educational enterprises in its neighborhood. And the edicts of fashion keep society in the same line of culture. The presidents of Marietta college have all been among the best equipped of their profession. The first was Rev. Joel H. Linsley, D. D., succeeded in 1876 by Rev. Dr. Henry Smith; he was followed in 1855 by Rev. Israel Ward Andrews, D.D., LL.D., who filled the position for thirty successive years; in 1885 he retired, still holding a professorship, and Dr. John Eaton, the eminent educator, was chosen in his place. The professors and teachers have all been men of talent and profound scholarship, and their work honors them. The graduates may be found in every state in the Union, in the pulpit, at the bar, in statecraft, in medicine, and in business. More than one-third of them since the college was opened have become clergymen. The college buildings are located on high ground, surrounded by a park of beautiful sycamore, maple, and other trees, with the effect of a miniature forest. The home of the president is less than a block distant from the college, in the shady street opposite Mound Cemetery. The rear windows over-



HOME OF THE PRESIDENT OF MARIETTA COLLEGE

look the town below in summer through a leafy ocean of tree-tops. The most wonderful sights afforded from this picturesque point in the past have been when the Ohio river indulged in its mad pranks of trying to overflow the whole valley. The house is of historic interest, having long been the home of President Andrews. It is now occupied by President Eaton and his family. The adjoining residence, to the right in the picture, is the home of William H. Buell, a grandson of Joseph Buell, mentioned on a former page, whose circumstantial journal kept on the frontiers of the Ohio from 1785 to 1788 is esteemed by antiquarians and historians an important chapter in western history.

There is a charm about Marietta that does not bend itself readily to the language of description. It is individual in its reposeful style and general characteristics. Its pretty modern villas are planted here and there, and its antique homes and buildings cherished. During its one hundredth anniversary week, Governor Foraker, with his wife, children, servants, household supplies, his entire staff and several guests, took pos-

session of one of these villa residences and kept open house for seven days. The presence of the governor of the state at all the exercises was a notable feature of the celebration. Senator John Sherman was also present, and Gen. Thomas Ewing, and scores of Ohio's notable sons and daughters, all assisting in doing the honors and extending hospitalities to guests from the other states. The collection of relics, one of the most complete of its kind that was probably ever brought together in this country, was on free exhibition during the week, illustrating, as words often fail in doing, the life, customs, and costumes of the pioneers. These came generally from the actual descendants, who have preserved and treasured them conscientiously for a century. We trust they will be gathered into a permanent museum for future examination and study. In another building set apart for the purpose was an exhibit loaned by the Government at Washington that was visited by thousands with never flagging interest. In one grand sweep Marietta has gathered in with her own the salient points of the history of the beginnings of that vast country beyond the Ohio, and the world is benefited thereby.

Martha J Lamb

INDIAN TRIBES IN PREHISTORIC TIMES

THEIR LOCATION AND MOVEMENTS

In an article published in the *Magazine of American History* of May 1884, reasons were given for believing the Cherokees were mound builders. In a more recent article attention was called to evidence indicating that the typical works of Ohio were built by the same people, who are also known in tradition as the Tallegwi. In the present paper I propose to indulge in speculations—based chiefly on the discoveries made by explorations of the mounds—in regard to the location and movements of some of the tribes in prehistoric times.

How far tribal distinctions manifest themselves in the works, is an undetermined point; nevertheless it would seem to follow, as a necessary result, that differences in habits and customs would appear to some extent in the works and minor vestiges of art. Nor is this a gratuitous assumption, as the correctness of the theory is becoming more and more apparent as the explorations proceed. Our hopes of being able, ultimately, to mark out the different archæological districts are based primarily upon this theory.

That the mound builders were Indians, pertaining to or ancestors of the tribes found inhabiting this country when discovered by Europeans, is now too well established to admit of a reasonable doubt. Those who question this conclusion are certainly not familiar with the evidence. The questions, therefore, regarding the origin, builders, uses and objects of the mounds and other ancient works, and articles found in them, are merged into the discussion and study of the history, habits, customs, arts, beliefs and superstitions of the Indians. That here and there a tribe may have disappeared or become extinct in the past, as in historical times, is doubtless true, but this does not affect the general proposition.

In marking the boundaries of the archæological districts and following the lines of migration, the indications which guide us are sometimes seemingly slender and unimportant; but those variations and distinctions which at first appear of minor importance, are often the most persistent and decisive. Sometimes the distinguishing character is a slight variation in the mode of burial, the presence or absence of a pit beneath the mound, the form of a pipe, the figure on a shell, or the ornamentation of pottery.

While variations in many respects may be found in a single group built by the same people, there are certain characteristics which seem to indicate invariably the presence of a different people. This fact is too well known to archæologists to need any proof; nevertheless, what we give here will form illustrations.

Take, for example, the evidence relating to the Cherokees. From some slight indications found in a mound in Lee county, Virginia, some years ago, Mr. Lucien Carr was led to believe that this was the work of the people of this tribe. The explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology in east Tennessee and North Carolina have not only served to strengthen this belief, but have shown it to be founded on fact. Similarly slender indications brought to light by these explorations led us to believe we might trace this tribe back to the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia. An examination of the extensive groups of ancient works at Charleston not only confirmed this supposition by ample and satisfactory evidence, but furnished data which leave but little if any doubt that the authors of these works were the builders of the typical works of Ohio. It is probable that the fertile valleys of this state were occupied for a long time by the people of this tribe, who, in all likelihood, lived in comparatively undisturbed possession of it until, as tradition informs us, the Lenni Lenapes, coming down from the north, waged an incessant war against them.

From whence did they—the Tallegwi—come into Ohio? The same kind of evidence which has traced them back thus far from their historic seats in east Tennessee and western North Carolina, points us westward to northwestern Illinois and eastern Iowa. Coming, as we presume, from the northwest, they seem to have halted for a time on and near the banks of the Mississippi, in this latitude. No traces of them have been found farther west than the eastern third of Iowa.

Crossing the Mississippi, the evidences of their presence in western Illinois are numerous, but cease going eastward soon after crossing the Illinois river, and do not appear again until we reach the eastern part of Indiana. One chain of evidence, which is without a break from the first indications in Iowa to the historic times in North Carolina, is the series of pipes. Commencing with the simple "monitor" or "platform pipe," we trace, step by step, as we proceed eastward and southward, the development of the modern Cherokee pipe. There are also other chains equally significant.

As intimately connected with the history and movements of Cherokees is the history of the Shawnee tribe. The line of migration of these Indians to their earliest known seat, the valley of the Cumberland river, is very uncertain. Judging by the mound evidence, especially the box-shaped stone

graves, of which they appear to have been the chief builders, the following is all that we can say in regard to their movements in prehistoric and early historic times. The chief area over which their movements appear to have extended antecedent to historical notices, is an irregular belt commencing with St. Louis and St. Genevieve counties, Missouri, thence running southeast through southern Illinois, western and middle Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and northern Georgia, to the head waters of the Savannah river.

The mounds and graves of southern Illinois belong apparently to widely separate periods; some of the stone graves, as is well known, being the burying places of Illinois Indians in comparatively modern times. These which are found chiefly in Monroe and Randolph counties, appear to have no relation to mounds.

The other graves (we allude here to the box-shaped stone graves), especially those of Jackson, Union and Alexander counties, are in a majority of cases not only directly connected with mounds, but are evidently in most cases built by the same people who built the mounds and buried in the graves about Lebanon and Nashville, Tennessee, and are as old or older than the latter. We therefore attribute these to the Shawnees, who must have been in this section at a comparatively early date. The graves in St. Louis and St. Genevieve counties, Missouri, belong to a subsequent period, when bands of this tribe occupied these sections in historic times. The remains about the Salines near Shawneetown indicate two periods of occupancy. It is possible, therefore, that this tribe made its first entry into its historic seat from the northwest, crossing the Mississippi in the region of southern Illinois.

The valley of the Cumberland in the northern portion of middle Tennessee was their principal seat and the section longest and most permanently occupied by them. The mound and grave testimony and the glimpses we obtain regarding their past from history and tradition agree on this point.

The occupancy of northern Georgia by the people of this tribe reaches back into prehistoric times. There is, in fact, some evidence bearing upon the date of this occupancy, as it appears they had not lost their foothold in the northwest of what is now the state when De Soto passed through that section, although they had been driven from their possessions on the head waters of the Savannah. Their first entry, therefore, into this section could not have been later than the fourteenth century. We know, historically, that a band had separated from the main body and located on the Savannah near its mouth. These facts have apparently a strong bearing in favor of the theory and tradition which brings this people from the ex-

treme southeast. But this theory cannot stand for a moment before the test of linguistic evidence. They belong to the Algonquin stock and are closely related to the Delaware and Illinois tribes, people whose northern origin no one doubts. We must, therefore, look to the north or northwest as the direction from which they entered our country.

Notwithstanding the well known fact of the long existing hostility of the Cherokees and Shawnees toward each other, there are indubitable evidences that a band of the latter dwelt for a considerable time with the former in the "over-hill towns" in east Tennessee. This was after the appearance of the whites on the continent, and the stone-grave testimony is confirmed by history.

The mound and grave testimony indicate that the same tribe penetrated at an early date into southwest Ohio, and as this was probably after the Delawares had driven the Tallegwi out of that region and had themselves moved on eastward toward their historic seat, they may have pushed up into the central part of the state, where the Iroquois, when they came into power, first met them, giving to them the name "Satanas." But there is no reason that I can find for identifying them with the Eries; on the contrary, all the facts are against this supposition. Moreover, as we shall see, the ancient works of northern Ohio are of a wholly different type from those of the central and southern portions of the state, and show no characteristics of those attributable to the Shawnees. There are stone graves of the kind alluded to in the central portion of the state, but these we know are mostly due to the Delawares on their return westward in historic times. A few are due to the Shawnees of a later day.

That these Indians roamed over Kentucky, and even into West Virginia, in early times is evident from the remains they have left scattered throughout this area, marking the sites of more or less temporary villages of their bands.

We are left, therefore, in doubt as to the route by which they entered the Ohio and Cumberland valleys. As before stated, the tradition which brings them originally from the southeast cannot stand the test of thorough criticism, as their linguistic relation to the Algonquin tribes renders it certain that their ancient home must have been in the north or northwest. It is more than likely that when, in their progress southward, they reached the Savannah, they there came in contact with some tribe or tribes more powerful than themselves, hence a check and recoil, a fragment breaking off finding a resting place near the mouth of the river, whence it finally removed to the home of the Delawares on the banks of the Delaware river.

The box-shaped stone coffins—also used by the Delawares—bear such a close resemblance to the sepulchres of the whites that the mind is disposed to see in this an explanation of the origin of this custom among the tribes. So strong is this impression that Jones, after studying this mode of burial in Tennessee, remarks: "In looking at the rude stone coffins of Tennessee I have again and again been impressed with the idea that in some former age this ancient race must have come in contact with Europeans, and derived this mode of burial from them."

It is worthy of notice here that so far nothing has been found west of the Alleghenies indicating the presence of the Delawares in that section until their return in historic times from the banks of the Delaware. They do not appear to have adopted this mode of burial until they reached their eastern home, nor is there any reason to believe they ever built mounds. Possibly they may have adopted this burial custom from the Shawnees.

As the Shawnees, according to Mr. A. S. Gatschet, are more closely related, linguistically, to the Illinois and Miamis than to the eastern tribes, the theory which I have heretofore advanced, that they entered the country from the northwest, probably crossing the Mississippi in the region of southern Illinois, appears to agree more nearly with the data obtained than any other, and accounts for the older works in southern Illinois. On the other hand, this leaves the question of the origin of the box-shaped stone graves more deeply involved in mystery.

In the northern part of Kentucky, from the mouth of Big Sandy river to Union county, and in the extreme southern part of Ohio along the Ohio river, are found certain types of mounds wholly or partly of stone, and certain stone graves or vaults which are peculiar to that region. These are accompanied by other characteristics, chiefly relating to the mode of burial and construction of the mounds and vaults, which indicate the presence in this section of a different tribe from either of those we have mentioned; a tribe which has become extinct, or that we are unable to identify. It is possible they were driven out or destroyed by the Shawnees, and that the term "Dark and Bloody Ground" applied to this region is an echo which has floated down the ages from prehistoric times.

Turning now to the northern part of Ohio, especially to Cuyahoga county, we discover, as heretofore stated, an entirely different type of ancient works from any we find in the central or southern part of the state; different in fact from any we find anywhere else south of this latitude. These consist, chiefly, of enclosures and defensive walls. We may therefore consider the variation as indicative of ethnic signification, and this we

find to be true. Going into New York, the ancient seat of the Iroquois tribe, we find that precisely the same kind of remains marks the localities of their fortified places. In other words, as Squier was compelled to admit after a thorough investigation of these works, they are to be attributed to the Iroquois, and we may add that they appear to be found only where people of the Huron-Iroquois stock obtained a foothold.

Possibly the works of Cuyahoga county and other parts of northern Ohio may be attributable to the Eries, but if so we would have another chain of evidence connecting this lost tribe with the Huron-Iroquois family.

As the area of the works of this type in the United States, commencing at the northeast corner of New York, includes the northern, central and western parts of this state, and extends in a comparatively narrow belt along the southern shore of Lake Erie and up the eastern part of Michigan to and including Ogemaw county, we may conclude that here we find the former seats of the tribes of this family.

This conclusion is greatly strengthened by the fact that it agrees with history, so far as this extends, and with the linguistic evidence.

The ancient works of Canada, so far as they have been examined, present nothing opposed to this view, as they appear in most cases to be attributable to the tribes of this family. Two small enclosures, apparently of the type of which we have been speaking, have been found in the eastern border of Wisconsin, possibly the result of temporary occupancy by wandering bands of Iroquois.

Basing our opinion wholly on the mound testimony, we would conclude that the tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock made their entry into the United States territory from the north, a conclusion which is confirmed by history and tradition. It is, we admit, unnecessary to appeal to the mound testimony to arrive at this conclusion, but one object we have in view is to show the close agreement between this testimony and history, where the latter exists. The reader will readily perceive the two important bearings this has: *first*, the agreement between the two tends to strengthen both; *second*, the agreement of the mound testimony with *Indian* history is strong proof that the authors of these monuments were Indians.

Although the Delaware tradition indicates that on their arrival at the "great river" (not the Mississippi, but probably the Detroit river), they found in the vicinity tribes of this stock (if the *Talamatan* were Hurons), yet, as Morgan* contends, it is evident that the Algonkins preceded the Iroquois in the occupancy of the eastern territory. "It is plainly to be inferred," he remarks, "that the Iroquois area was originally Algonkin,

* *Beck's Indian Miscellany*, pp. 211-216.

and that the irruption of the Iroquois into this area explains the spread of the Algonkin nations along the Atlantic coast."

Whether the latter part of this statement be correct is somewhat doubtful, as this would throw back the date when the Iroquois came into power beyond that usually assigned by our historians and antiquarians. Nevertheless, it is evident that some strong pressure had pushed the eastern Algonkins into the narrow limits they were found occupying at the arrival of the Europeans, and we know of no such power except the Iroquois.

According to the Delaware tradition, as preserved in the "Bark Record," they "settled their council fires south of the lakes," while the Hurons (if the Talamatans were Hurons), remained on the north side. Mr. Horatio Hale, one of our best authorities in all that relates to the languages of the tribes of which we are speaking, thinks the Iroquois entered from the northeast; moreover, the apparently oldest aboriginal works of New York are those found in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties. But this does not militate in the least against the theory which would bring them originally from the northwest. The region of Niagara river being probably occupied by Algonkins, they were compelled to move on eastward to the foot of Lake Ontario before they could find a point where they could readily cross over to the south side. The movement, therefore, south of the lakes, would be westward, but north of them it was, as I think, certainly eastward.

I would keep before the mind of the reader as we proceed the fact that none of the eastern Algonkin tribes, so far as we know, were mound builders—an important factor in the attempt to solve this problem.

The effigy mounds of Wisconsin and of the immediately adjoining portions of Iowa and Illinois (very few are found in Minnesota, and those in the extreme southeast part of the state,) are extremely puzzling to the archæologist; nevertheless the evidence pointing to their Indian origin is so strong that we are fully justified in arriving at this conclusion. It is only on this supposition, whether acknowledged or not, that any attempt to explain them has been or can be made. But the next question, "What Indians?" is more difficult to answer; and the sign-boards which mark the way are so dim that the result will appear to be little more than a guess; nevertheless, the threads which lead us, though extremely slender, are too persistent to be without meaning.

As a preliminary step we adopt the view advanced by Dr. Lapham and advocated by Rev. S. D. Peet—that of the mounds of this region the true effigies and more complicated forms are the most ancient, and that the

tendency was toward the simpler forms. This view I believe will be accepted by any one who studies carefully these strange works and the methods of grouping them. This conclusion is not necessarily based upon the idea that all these monuments are attributable to one tribe or people, but has reference chiefly to the chronological sequence of the types. Nevertheless, there are numerous indications that the same people modified their customs so far as they affected the character of their works. In other words, there are reasons for believing that the tribes which built the effigy and elongate mounds changed this custom and built at last only burial tumuli.

There are indications that Wisconsin has, in the past, been occupied by two if not three different mound-building tribes, though the effigy mounds and the groups with which they are connected are probably due to one people. These, we are inclined to believe, belonged to the Dakotan stock, the Winnebagoes being the modern representatives.

A rule which appears to have but few if any exceptions is, that the Algonkin tribes were not mound builders in the true sense, except where brought into relation with or close proximity to mound-building people. On the other hand, some of the Dakotan tribes were mound builders, in fact most of them to some extent, as is yet evident from the remains scattered over the Sioux country. When the first news of the inhabitants of Wisconsin reached the French, it was of the Winnebagoes, who were then dwelling on Fox River and about Lake Winnebago; and certain ceremonies which were performed by this last-named tribe indicate that they formerly built mounds.

The direction from which the authors of these works—whoever they may have been—entered this area can now only be judged of by the mounds. Basing my conclusion wholly upon the data these furnish, I am inclined to think they came from the southwest through what is now northern Iowa. It is quite certain they did not enter at the northeast or northwest. The distribution of the ancient works over the southern part of the State, and some other facts, indicate repeated movements back and forth between the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan; also that there was some opposing element which prevented them from advancing around the south end of the lake.

The "Ground House Indians" of tradition, who occupied the northwest part of the State, over which are scattered numerous small burial tumuli, were in all probability the Mandans, or one of the house-building tribes found subsequently on the upper Missouri river.

Such are some of the conclusions we are inclined to draw from the

mound data so far obtained; future discoveries may and probably will modify them to some extent, but I think the tendency will be to confirm rather than to contradict them.

The mound testimony taken as a whole, so far as it relates to the northern and middle districts, evidently leans toward the theory which brings the tribes from the northwest. The direction from which the Algonkin tribes came is indicated by the distance toward the west and northwest to which the outlying branches extend. It is possible and even quite probable that, as the stream pushed southeastward and the process of segregation into tribes was going on, the Delawares and those afterward found along the eastern coast turned eastward and passed onward north of the lakes. The Shawnees and Illinois tribes moved on southeastward, crossing the Mississippi at different points; others may have crossed in the region of Sault Ste. Marie; others over the Detroit River; the western branches (Cheyennes and Arapahoes) lingering in the region of the Red River of the north, until driven westward by the Dakotas; and the Arkansas tribes pushing their way on southward west of the Mississippi. I find very little if any mound testimony to support the theory that the latter formerly dwelt on the Ohio. Some of the works on the Wabash appear to belong to the same type as the monuments of southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas. It is possible, therefore, that they may have dwelt here for a time in their movement southward.

Supposing the Cherokees to be distantly related to the Iroquois stock, the mound testimony compels us to look to the northwest as the point of separation, far distant and ages ago it may have been, nevertheless it must have been in that direction, as the former came eastward south of the lakes and the latter north.

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Cyrus Thomas

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

So tardy were the means of communication at a period when the electric telegraph and conveyance by steam were unknown, that the Declaration of Independence—publicly proclaimed in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776—was not heard of in Georgia until the 10th of August. On that day an express messenger arrived and delivered to President Archibald Bulloch a certified copy of the memorable document, accompanied by a letter from John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress. The Provincial Council was at once convened; and to its members did President Bulloch read that historic and brave utterance of the delegates of the thirteen united Colonies. Profound was the impression created on the minds of all, and rapturously did the assembled councilors hail the elevation of British colonies into the dignity of an independent nation.

This ceremony concluded, the president and council repaired to the public square, where, in front of the building set apart for the deliberations of the Provincial Assembly, the Declaration of Independence was again read; and this time amid the acclamations of the congregated citizens of Savannah. The grenadier and light infantry companies, which had been quickly summoned, then fired a salute, and a procession was formed consisting of

The grenadiers in front;
The Provost Marshal on horseback, with his sword drawn;
The Secretary bearing the Declaration;
His Excellency the President;
The honorable the Council and gentlemen attending;
The Light Infantry;
The Militia of the town and district of Savannah;
And lastly the citizens.

Thus constituted the procession marched to the Liberty Pole, where it was reinforced by the Georgia Battalion. Here the Declaration was for third time read. At the command of Colonel Lachlaw McIntosh thirteen volleys were fired from the field pieces and also from the small arms. Thence the entire concourse proceeded to the battery at the Trustees' Garden, where the Declaration was publicly read for the fourth and last

time. From the siege guns planted at that point a salute was fired. His Excellency, President Bulloch, the members of Council, Colonel McIntosh, many gentlemen, and the militia subsequently dined under the cedar trees, and cordially drank to the "prosperity and perpetuity of the United, Free, and Independent States of America."

In the evening the town was illuminated. A funeral procession, embracing a number of citizens larger than had ever been congregated in the history of Savannah, and attended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, the Georgia battalion, and the militia, with muffled drums, marched to the front of the Court House—where his Majesty King George the Third was interred in effigy, and the following burial service prepared for the occasion was read with all solemnity:

"For as much as George the Third of Great Britain hath most flagrantly violated his coronation oath, and trampled upon the Constitution of our country and the sacred rights of mankind, we therefore commit his political existence to the ground—corruption to corruption—tyranny to the grave—and oppression to eternal infamy—in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over these United States of America. But, my friends and fellow citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for Tyrants that thus depart:—rather let us remember America is free and independent, and that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, great among the nations of the earth. Let this encourage us in well doing, and to fight for our rights and privileges, for our wives and children, and for all that is near and dear unto us. May God give us his blessing, and let all the people say, Amen!"

With similar joy was the Declaration of Independence welcomed in the other parishes of Georgia. St. John's parish—the home of Hall and Gwinnett, two of the Signers—was most pronounced in its demonstrations of loyalty and approval.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, July 26, 1888.

RECONSTRUCTION

Much has been written and said in general terms concerning the reconstruction of the Union after the close of the civil war. Some have characterized that measure as a mistake, while others deemed it the best that could be done under the circumstances. Meanwhile the national government continues to come in for a share of censure for not having performed its full duty in the premises; that is, in having freed the slave and made him an American citizen, and then failed to institute proper measures for training him by education to fulfill his duties of citizenship and to protect him in the exercise of his newly acquired privileges. But the national government did not design in freeing the slave to virtually hand him over to his former master with only one portion of his bondage removed, that of being bought and sold. Its policy was much more comprehensive.

When the slave was freed it was once for all time, both for him and his posterity, while "reconstruction," in contradistinction to "restoration," was designed to secure for him, in every sense, the rights of the American citizen. These rights were presumed to be secured by an organic arrangement when three-fourths of the states ratified the 13th, the 14th and the 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Perhaps there is no portion of our recent-history so little understood by even the majority of intelligent American readers, as that pertaining to the period of reconstruction. Questions are often asked why that particular policy was adopted in bringing back the "erring sisters" into the household of the nation. Where was the necessity of giving the ballot to the ignorant and illiterate freedmen? Why should not the policy of *Restoration* have been preferred to that of *Reconstruction*? We propose to answer these questions as concisely and as distinctly as the subject and our space will permit, in order that the reader may judge of the expediency of Congress adopting the policy of reconstruction. It is due to truth and justice that the reasons should be known which influenced the statesmen of that critical period to receive back into the Union on such conditions, that if honestly carried out would, in the end, promote the mutual interests of all classes of citizens, white or colored.

The Thirty-eighth Congress closed its second session March 3, 1865, and the Thirty-ninth would not meet in regular session till the fourth of December following, nine months afterward. Andrew Johnson, on the

death of Mr. Lincoln, became President April 15, 1865; General Lee surrendered on the ninth of the same month, as did General Johnston eight days afterward. The President, in the course of about six weeks after assuming office, indicated by unmistakable signs that a change was taking place in his sentiments toward the leaders of the rebellion just closed. It was rumored, meanwhile, that the President had devised a plan by means of which these states could be restored to the Union. This scheme he characterized as "my policy," and with it the leaders just mentioned were satisfied, and they co-operated earnestly with him in the preliminary measures necessary to make it effective. The President's plan has since been known as that of "restoration" in contradistinction to that afterward adopted by Congress and known as "reconstruction." The difference between these two policies in their influence upon the future of the nation are recognized as very great by the intelligent and thoughtful.

Restoration contemplated the return of the lately rebellious states into the full fellowship of the Union. They were only required by the President "to acquiesce in the abolition of slavery; to repudiate the rebel debt and repeal the ordinances of secession." These conditions of re-admission ignored the once slave population, now become free and of course citizens, and who were left subject to the laws that might be enacted in respect to themselves by the legislatures of these several states thus restored, while in making these laws, as voters, they had no voice.

Instead of calling an extra session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, that legislative measures might be taken on the occasion, the President, of his own motion, resolved to restore these states, and that with as little delay as possible. He urged forward the project with his usual zeal and energy, without reference to what the people of the North might wish in the premises, or to give their representatives in Congress an opportunity even to express an opinion on the subject. The President, between May 29th and July 13th, appointed seven provisional governors over as many states: to these officials he gave special instructions. These governors had about four months and a half to prepare their respective states for "restoration," to do which they went to work energetically. As authorized by the President, they gave directions for the people to choose and send delegates to state conventions, which should repeal the "ordinances of secession," repudiate the debt of the "pretended confederacy" and "acquiesce in the abolition of slavery." Complying with these conditions, they had the implied assurance of the President that they would be restored to the Union, and if prepared, admitted to the national councils at the first meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Accordingly, the conventions

were soon called, and they at once repealed the now obnoxious ordinances and complied with the other requirements. The managers, meanwhile, hastened to have the people elect members of Congress and also of the state legislatures; the latter meeting soon after chose United States senators. In this unprecedented haste the usual laws in regard to the ordinances passed by such convention being submitted to the people for their sanction were ignored, nor were writs issued in legal form for the election of the members of Congress and of the legislatures.

It may be well to notice briefly the character of the national legislature that was about to assemble at Washington. The Senate of the Thirty-ninth Congress was unusually strong in the number of its experienced statesmen, while the Lower House was equally remarkable in regard to its composition. Of the members of the two houses, two were afterward Presidents of the United States, and one lacked only about one thousand votes of being so; three were Vice-Presidents; eleven, members of the cabinet; four, ministers abroad; and five, governors of their respective states. More than half the members of the Lower House had belonged to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and many had also been members of previous ones. It is thus evident that in this crisis (1864) in the nation's life, the majority of the people were anxious to secure the services of statesmen who had had experience in public affairs, as upon them, in all probability, would devolve the duty of re-admitting to the Union the states then in rebellion. It is remarkable that *two-thirds* of the members constituting the majority (Republican) of the Lower House had also been members of previous Congresses, while more than *three-fifths* of the minority (Democratic) were new men.

The crisis was, indeed, full of complications hitherto unknown: on the one hand, were the freedmen, recognized as citizens, but in an abnormal condition; on the other certain leaders, military and political, fresh from an attempt to destroy the Union by force of arms, but now demanding that their states, so recently in rebellion, should be admitted again to that Union unconditionally, and they themselves to the councils of the nation.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled, a majority of these ex-confederate Congressmen and Senators, chosen in the peculiar manner already noted, were on hand, and eager to enter upon their duties in the national legislature. Of the whole number, not one had been a "Union man;" all had been directly or indirectly engaged in the rebellion. Many were unpardoned, numbers could not take the prescribed oath, and it was evident there existed in their minds, for the most part, a profound under-current of hostility toward the United States government. These gentle-

men claimed their seats in Congress in virtue of President Johnson's policy, and his explicit or implied assurance that they would be re-admitted. Congress refused to recognize the claim—one objection being that the President, as executive, had no authority derived from the Constitution or otherwise, to re-admit these states to the Union, that power belonging to the legislative, not to the executive branch of the government, and which authority the former had hitherto always exercised. In addition, these states were still under martial law, and the provisional governors could exercise military authority merely to preserve order, while the President, the chief military executive, could only depute similar authority to his subordinates. This was far different from the legislative and legal authority of admitting states to the Union. The President could have called an extra session of Congress, but he did not. On the other hand, the undue haste in which these preliminary measures were pushed, and the disrespect indirectly shown by the chief executive to the authority of the legislative branch of the government, roused in the minds of the thoughtful in the northern states a distrust of his proposed measures, about which an unusual reticence was preserved, not only by the President himself, but by those who appeared most active in promoting his "policy."

The President's first annual message (Dec. 4, 1865) to the Thirty-ninth Congress revealed, however, to the country a partial outline of the policy of restoration, which he designed to carry out. Up to this time the position of the freedman as a citizen of the nation had not been authoritatively defined, yet what it was *assumed* to be in the states now seeking re-admission to the Union may be inferred from a series of laws then in process of enactment by their legislatures. One phase of the political status of the freedman, either by an understanding or remarkable coincidence, was held by the President, and also by his co-laborers in promoting the former's "policy." Several of the state conventions called into existence by the provisional governors denied the right or the duty of Congress to enact laws in respect to the political status of the freedmen, and coincident with that view of the subject, the President in this, his first message to Congress, says: "In my judgment the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtue, will sooner obtain participation in the elective franchise through the states than through the general government." Then he volunteers the opinion that "it is not competent for Congress to extend the elective franchise in the several states." This coincidence, connected with the hitherto carefully preserved reticence on the subject, appeared ominous, while the adoption of this theory of the freedman's political status by the President and the members of these legislatures may explain the rationale of

certain laws enacted by the latter in respect to the freedmen and their interests.

A brief summary of the laws alluded to, and which bore upon the rights and privileges of the freedmen as American citizens, is as follows: in North Carolina, in accordance with the laws recently enacted, the evidence of a colored person, now free, was received in the courts only in trials that were between colored persons. "In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence shall be deemed inadmissible, *unless by consent of the parties of record.*" Laws bearing on the same point and similar in character were enacted in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama and Texas. Under such ruling how could trials be conducted impartially when a white person and a colored one were the contestants?

The term *vagrant* was found convenient for one special purpose. Several of these legislatures utilized it as a pretext for passing laws in respect to the children of freedmen. It was assumed, as a general rule, that colored parents would not support their own children, though in that climate it required very little exertion. They were, however, graciously allowed to nurture them during infancy and until their labor might be worth something. The civil authorities were therefore enjoined to take the children of colored parents against whom this charge was made, and under the plea of *vagrancy*, apprentice them to white masters. Former owners, all things being equal, had the preference in securing these apprentices. The laws, as a general rule, were so drawn that interested persons could easily trump up that charge. In addition, civil officers were *required to look out for such minors* and report them to the courts, to which came plenty of white persons who were in readiness to avail themselves of the services of these children as apprentices. Such service was valuable. The males were to be apprenticed till they were twenty-one years of age, and the females till they were eighteen. The laws in respect to apprentices went much into detail, were very stringent, and even tyrannical. The wishes of parents were evidently little respected, either by the courts or by those who wished to obtain the control of these minor children, while colored fathers and mothers were indirectly charged with idleness and improvidence. Had these law-makers forgotten that these same fathers and mothers, of their own free will, had labored during the immediately preceding years of the war, and had not only supported themselves and their own children, but also their white mistresses and their children, while their masters and the elder sons of the family were in the Confederate army? This they had done without the aid of overseers, but of their own accord and good will toward their masters and mistresses. "History records no instance of such

disinterested loyalty. Though they had heard of the proclamation of their freedom, yet they protected and supported these defenseless women and children and committed no outrages.”*

The states of Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana adopted laws of this character; all were earnest to secure, and seemingly on their own terms, the services of the freedmen and their children. The code in relation to the freedmen adopted in South Carolina was so outrageous that Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, commander in the department, blotted it out by military order (January 17, 1866), and Provisional Governor Perry dissolved the convention of the same state as a revolutionary body, notwithstanding it had assembled under the President's "Instructions." Major-General A. H. Terry, at Richmond (January 24, 1866), issued an order forbidding the enforcement of the *vagrant act* passed by the Virginia legislature, on the ground of "unjust and wrongful combinations, having been entered into for the purpose of depressing the wages of the freedmen below the real value of their labor," saying: "The effect of the statute in question will be, therefore, to compel the freedmen, under punishment as criminals, to accept and labor for wages established by these combinations of employers. The ultimate effect will be to reduce the freedmen to a condition which will be slavery all but name." President Johnson himself, to whom an appeal was made, refused to interfere with this order.

The subject of education was ignored by all these legislatures except that of Florida, which made provision for the schooling of the freedmen's children, but the law, however, "required a tax of one dollar to be levied on every male person of color between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five, and a tuition fee to be collected from each colored pupil." Out of this fund they were to pay a superintendent and teachers; of course the latter were white. At the same time by law it was ordered that the "interest from the school fund of the state should be applied to the education of indigent white children."

Another remarkable feature of the legislation under review was that it often put hindrances in the way of the industrial progress of the freedmen. The laws already noticed infringed their rights as contestants in the civil courts, outraged their feelings and rights as parents, and depreciated their wages; and now we notice a series of laws whose influence trammelled them in making an honest living by engaging in ordinary business. For illustra-

* Testimony of Senator Gordon of Georgia. Report of Committee of Congress on Outrages, Vol. VI., p. 334. These former owners and lawgivers appeared unable to recognize the love of colored parents for their own children, and passed these laws while seemingly unconscious of their injustice and inhumanity.

tion, in Mississippi the law would not "allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenement, except in incorporate towns and cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same." Again, if not employed, a colored person, male or female, must obtain a license from the mayor or police "authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work." In South Carolina the "law provided that no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade or business of an artisan, mechanic, shopkeeper, etc., *on his own account and for his own benefit*," without a license. The person of color for violating this law "was punished by fine or corporeal punishment." No mention is made of such license being required of the colored person if *hired* by a white man.

The Louisiana legislature enacted (December 21, 1865) that all laborers should make contracts for the entire ensuing year, within the first ten days of the following month of January. These contracts were to be put in writing and read to the freedman, and he signed them by his mark in the presence of witnesses; they were made with the heads of families, and, as a general rule, embraced the labor of all the members of the family. The rules made by the employer were very strict. If the freedman went to work upon the terms proposed, well and good; but if he, as an American citizen, stood upon his presumed rights, and refused to work on such terms, he was declared a *vagrant*, for whose punishment ample provision was made in another section of the statute. To the casual reader these laws would imply that the employer was also bound to fulfill his part of the contract, and indeed he was to be fined quite severely if he did not. But in another section we find the following significant clause: "All difficulties arising between the employers and laborers under this section shall be settled, and all fines imposed by the former." To be sure the freedman, if dissatisfied, could appeal "to the nearest justice of the peace and two freeholders, citizens," one of whom chosen by himself, the other by the employer. It was provided, however, that "all the fines imposed and collected under this section shall be deducted from the wages due the laborer." Of course the freedman, on such conditions, would seldom appeal; he would *accept* the less of two evils.

If a freedman happened to be out of work he could be arrested as a *vagrant*, and become subject to the stringent laws bearing on such colored persons. The judges of the state were enjoined by law "to give this act" (the *vagrant*) "especcially in charge of the grand juries at each jury term of their respective courts. In addition, the laborers or freedmen, under the charge of willful neglect, were held responsible for the injuries that might happen to the animals or to the implements used in the work; the

employer being the judge, had also the right to deduct the estimated amount of such damage from the wages due; or in other words, the freedmen, as laborers, were virtually held responsible for the wear and tear of the plantation. Upon the whole it would seem that at this time all the laws enacted in these states in respect to this subject, were so drawn that in some sections they read fairly, yet in others their interpretation could be invariably so construed as to discriminate against the interests of the freedman.

Laws, appropriate under the circumstances, were also enacted in all these states to regulate the domestic relations of the freedmen in respect to the legitimacy of children and of marriage. Some of the other laws had a flavor of the times of slavery; for instance, "impudence to his employer," "willful disobedience of orders," "using seditious language," "unlawfully assembling themselves together," "exercising the functions of a minister of the gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, vending spirituous or intoxicating drinks, or committing any other misdemeanor," were to be punished by fines and imprisonment. No freedman was permitted to have weapons of defense, such as knives or fire-arms, and was generally fined in twice the price of the arms that were taken from him. If a freedman who had been apprenticed, left his master, any person who "shall knowingly give or sell such deserting freedman any food, raiment or other things" could be punished by fine and imprisonment. "For all absence from home without leave the laborer will be fined at the rate of two dollars per day." (Condensed from Handbook of Politics for 1868, by McPherson, pp. 29-44).

It is difficult to discover provisions in these laws that protected the rights of the laborer equally with those of the employer, while it was ominous of additional evil to the former, that these law-makers seemed unconscious of the injustice and the inhumanity involved in these codes, which, though couched in different legal forms in the several states, all tended to the same end—that at as little expense as possible to utilize for the interest of the former master alone, the labor of the former slave, while at the same time keeping the latter in ignorance, and virtually crushing out his ambition to improve himself or his children. In this view these law-givers were then sustained by the great majority of the former slave owners; and what is strange, both these parties thought they themselves were in the right. This theory may serve partially to account for the imprudence of their legislatures in enacting laws of that character, when in anticipation of the speedy restoration of their states to the Union. Had these legislators been rendered so callous in respect to the negro by the influ-

ence of slavery that they were unable to conceive why the people of the free-labor states might possibly look upon these laws with abhorrence, as being not only unjust but inhuman, and as designed, in extorting labor from the freedmen, to take the place of the former overseer and his lash? Neither did they seem to realize that they were thus crippling about one half their own citizens by taking from them nearly all the hope of reward. They even made no provision for educating this great laboring class, by which it would become the more effective in promoting the special industries of their own section. The modifications which were afterward made in these laws were the outgrowth of the principles involved in the measures introduced by Congress when adopting reconstruction.

Such is a brief summary of the laws already passed, and in process of framing, for they were all enacted within six months (from November 22, 1865, to May 25, 1866), that confronted the Thirty-ninth Congress at its first session. The members of these legislatures and the congressmen and senators elect fully expected that their states, in accordance with the President's "policy," would be at once restored to the Union. This belief may partially account for the haste in which the laws in relation to the freedmen were enacted; another motive had also much influence, that of enabling the former masters to utilize the labor of the freedmen in the planting season, now near at hand.

In the presence of these laws the freedman was almost helpless. What means could be devised to protect him in his rights as an American citizen? Congress was in a dilemma; the crisis was pressing and could not be ignored; a settlement of the difficulty must be made at once, and on terms so just as to last forever. That body had obtained from these laws an inkling of the animating spirit which almost universally pervaded the ruling minds in the late Confederate states in respect to the civil rights and political status of the freedmen. It required all the skill of statesmanship in the national legislature to inaugurate measures that would ward off the evils impending in the future. Congress therefore did not, as has been charged, legislate so as "to fix by enactment his (the freedman's) *social* rights," but so as to secure his *political* rights as a citizen, and wisely left his *social status* to take care of itself; the latter belongs to the intercourse between individuals and families in the community, and by no process can be made a creature of law. One result would be certain; that if these once slave-labor states should again take their places in the Union in accordance with the policy of restoration, the treatment of freedmen under state laws could be no more modified by the national government than were the state slavery codes before the recent war. The

freedmen in one sense were citizens, but owing to their peculiar relations and former condition, it was essential to define more clearly their political status. Would it be right of itself or promote the material progress and political peace of the nation at large, to hand them over, and that too without legal redress, to the tender mercies of law givers such as these had shown themselves? The alternative was to give the freedmen a voice in making the laws under which they and their children were to live. That could be done in one way only—to bind the states of the Union by constitutional guarantees to protect all their citizens against the infringement of their rights. This could be accomplished by insuring to them the privilege of suffrage, which implied not only the right of all citizens to cast their votes as they *wished*, but, as a sequence, to have them *counted* honestly. Congress had to grope its way, as it could act only in accordance with the popular will, and therefore it was essential that it should introduce measures just to every citizen, and set in train influences that would, in the end, promote the best interests of the nation. The condition of the freedmen in respect to their lack of intelligence, their peculiarities of race with its pliability of character, together with a certain servile spirit, the outgrowth of a terrible experience in slavery, combined to present a problem very hard to solve. These almost insuperable difficulties demanded prompt action rather than a dilatory and vacillating policy that would permit the evils on hand to grow stronger and stronger. The freedmen could be encouraged by insuring to them their rights as citizens, while the ex-slave-holders might, at that time, be more willing to acquiesce in whatever Congress should adopt, than they would be hereafter, under the influence of a combination, indications of which were cropping out, of the ex-Confederate politicians and their present and also former sympathizers in the northern states.

To reach the desired result the Constitution of the United States must be amended; and both houses of Congress (June 13, 1866) proposed to the states for their ratification the Fourteenth Amendment, which they ratified by February 7, 1867. Afterward, the Fifteenth Amendment, in the usual manner, was proposed and ratified by the states March 30, 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment, Section 2, says: "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of a state and citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state." This principle applied to all the states of the Union, and if New York or Ohio disfranchised in any manner their Irish or German citizens, in the

same proportion would the number of their representatives in the Lower House of Congress be diminished; and if South Carolina or Mississippi in any way disfranchised their colored citizens, they laid themselves open to the same penalty. It is a fundamental principle in the Constitution and government of the United States, that all its citizens in good and regular standing should have the right to vote, and that self-government in the several states is under the protection of the United States Constitution. Should this principle be violated by any state, the remedy was at hand in the application of Article IV., Section 4, of the Constitution, which says: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government."

Soon after the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, Congress took measures to *reconstruct* the Union by passing an enabling act (March 23, 1867), "to provide efficient governments for the insurrectionary states." Then followed the registration act, by which the provisional governors were instructed to order in their respective states the registration of all the male citizens "without reference to color or former condition of life." This registration was to be completed by September 1, 1867. Under this act the colored men were practically recognized as citizens, and having registered, they soon after voted, for the first time, in choosing delegates to conventions which were to form state constitutions.

It is proper, in this connection, to record the fact that every measure passed and designed by Congress to aid the freedmen, even including a bill to "establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees"—the latter being poor whites who had been Union men—was passed over the President's veto.

In due time reconstruction was accomplished; but in deciding upon which Congress was beset by almost insuperable difficulties. We cannot go into detail; but a brief summary of the impediments to be removed or overcome may not be out of place in this connection. It would be but an experiment, yet safety was more possible in acting justly toward the freedmen and their former masters, as well as toward the nation at large. In justice we must look at these objections—some of which were plausible and some liable to become practical—as they presented themselves *at that time* to the minds of the people as well as to Congress, and not as *we are now inclined after more than twenty years* of the practical workings of reconstruction, to look back upon them as having been futile. There were two prominent objections in the way—one theoretical, the other political—and neither without influence. First came the numerous prophets of that day, who were clamorous in predicting that without

doubt the colored race, now deprived of the benign care of their former owners, would surely die out; but, on the contrary, it has since been increasing at a rate that, without the aid of immigration, will double its number every twenty years. With equal assurance it was foretold that in freedom the negroes would not be industrious, but idle; yet they have since been raising cotton and other staples at such a rate that at present they produce nearly twice as much a year as they did when in slavery. It was also demonstrated that, being idle and improvident, great numbers of them would become paupers; but to-day in the south, in proportion to the population, there is a less number of the colored people paupers than there is of the whites. It is also a striking fact that since they have had access to public and other schools, their zeal in learning to read and write, among old and young, has been far in advance of that found among the illiterate whites and their children. They also manifest much more zeal, in proportion to their means, in their efforts to maintain schools.

Having seen the outcome of the theoretical objection, we will notice the other, which consisted in the relation at that time of the main political parties to each other. In the north were the leaders of that class which during the war sympathized more or less with the Confederates. These leaders had strong faith in the prophets and their predictions, and were in favor of restoration, under whose shield the poor freedmen were to find guardians. In addition were numerous voters who did not thoroughly understand the subject in all its bearings, near and remote; they knew and felt that they were wearied with the political turmoil, while it was continually urged by certain speakers and portions of the press that it was all about the negro; instead of taking in the importance of the whole idea from a national point of view, they only wanted, even at any cost, political peace. So evenly balanced were these parties that there was danger of the undisguised enemies of the policy of reconstruction then, or soon afterward, getting control of the government and trampling out all that had been done, and instead instituting measures that might be ruinous to the hopes of the freedman ever improving himself and his children, and thus hampering the progress of the whole nation, by continuing within it a retarding element. These clashing opinions made Congress hesitate, and in the end act very cautiously in making reconstruction *stable* by constitutional amendments. For more than two years these questions were discussed in Congress, in the newspapers, and among the people themselves.

During this discussion and political agitation only two prominent theories were proposed as to the principles on which the Union should be

made whole; the one—that of restoration, confronting the Thirty-ninth Congress at its first meeting—ignored the fact that the former slaves were now free and equal citizens; on this theory the laws cited above were partially based; the other—which developed into reconstruction—not only recognized that fact, but made provision for the protection of these freedmen as citizens. The great mass of the northern people sympathized much more with the poor, innocent whites of the south, because of the distresses that the war—for which they were not responsible—had entailed upon them, than they did with the freedmen, who had lately received the great boon of having their shackles stricken off. This sentiment was so strong and so pervading during the nine months between the close of the Thirty-eighth Congress and the first meeting of the Thirty-ninth, that the northern people might, with some modifications, have acquiesced in the President's policy of restoration, and might not have been so radical in respect to the political status of the freedmen, as was afterward adopted in reconstruction.

Reasons soon appeared that changed the opinions of the northern people. The hostile spirit manifested by the members of Congress and the Senators-elect from the lately rebellious states caused the Thirty-ninth Congress to hesitate; meanwhile, portions of the laws quoted above were appearing in the newspapers. The character of these laws excited misgivings in the minds of intelligent people in the north in relation to the danger that would be incurred in handing over the freedmen and their posterity to these states without guarantees for their protection. Had the law givers referred to treated the freedmen kindly and justly, recognized them in their new relation as citizens, and manifested a desire to give them even a moderate chance to make their living and elevate themselves and their children by education and industry, the impression made would have been far different. On the contrary, the peculiar character and probable influence of these laws in the future led thinking minds to recognize the vast importance of the crisis. The experience of the past had just proclaimed, and in no uncertain voice, that the re-adjusted Union, if it would preserve its integrity, must be based on justice to all, on intelligence, as well as on common-sense legislation. Was it right, or even expedient, under the policy of restoration, to incorporate in the new Union an element of social and political gangrene, that was certain in time to poison the prosperity and peace of the nation; to put the freedmen in a position whence they could never be extricated, except, in all probability, by a bloody revolution? In three distinct senses they were no longer slaves: they could not be bought and sold; as citizens they

could live where they pleased; nor could they be hindered from learning to read and write. Had restoration been adopted, the stimulus for self-improvement and industry would have been virtually taken away, as they scarcely would have had an inducement to labor.

Seemingly many intelligent people do not fully understand why the privilege of suffrage was conferred upon the freedmen. One explanation is, that the reasons for that act of Congress have not been published in such form as to reach the reading public. In consequence of this lack of information, the political and social evils that have since occasionally appeared in the recent Confederate states have often been, and most erroneously, attributed to reconstruction. It is evident that had restoration been adopted there would have been no Ku Klux outrages, but instead the same class that enacted the laws we have cited would have still been utilizing for their own benefit the labor of the freedmen, while the latter would have had no means of redress worth naming, and but little opportunity of making known their wrongs to the nation. Let it therefore be borne in mind that reconstruction was made the *occasion* for committing these crimes, and that it never could have been the *cause*, since the Ku Klux outrages, and other annoyances of similar character, were designed to *neutralise* the effects of the amendments embodied in the policy of reconstruction, as these deeds of violence were intended to deter from voting the freedmen and those native whites who had dared stand up for the Union.

There was still another view of the subject—the political. In the time of slavery, *three-fifths* of the slave population were counted as citizens, and they had at the commencement of the civil war twenty-one representatives in the Lower House of Congress—but they had had no voice in electing them. According to the theory of restoration *all* the colored population would be represented in the Lower House, but still they would have no vote in choosing their own members of Congress. This would be grossly unjust in respect to those states wherein *all men* had the privilege of voting.

It has been sometimes assumed that Reconstruction was a failure, and Congress made an enormous mistake in admitting the illiterate freedmen to the privilege of the ballot. This objection would have greater force if Congress had not long before permitted illiterate white men to vote, who, though nearly all foreigners, were so numerous in the free-labor states that they held the balance of power between the two leading political parties of the Union. We admit that these white illiterates, because of their coming in contact with intelligent people, and with whom in a political sense they

were on an equality, knew more of politics and general subjects than the freedmen.

Congress, fully alive to this feature of the case, took measures to prepare the freedmen and their posterity for their new position by means of an education, and accordingly it made efforts to establish public schools throughout these states, not only to teach the freedmen, but the illiterate whites, and the children of both classes. At that time Congress did not have a surplus of numerous millions, a portion of which could be appropriated to aid the people of the south in bearing this burden; the latter were poor, yet for the most part they have done nobly. As a partial aid, great numbers of the benevolent in the north entered upon the work of teaching the colored people, as well as the illiterate whites, and this good work has been going on for twenty years. Said Mr. Cable some years since: "The private charities alone of the other states have \$20,000,000 in the same good cause. Their colored seminaries, colleges and normal schools dot our whole southern country, and furnish our public colored schools with a large part of their teachers."

The Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, introduced into the United States Senate about twenty years ago a bill designed to aid public schools, especially those in the south, the funds to be drawn from the sales of the public lands. Since then more than half a generation has passed away, and the bill, so amended as to appropriate \$77,000,000, has passed the Senate under different forms half a dozen times—more recently at the close of the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, and again at the first session of the Forty-ninth, and also at the first session of the Fiftieth—and at this writing it is on the calendar of the House of Representatives. One of the objections to the bill, as manifested in the Senate, was the ghost of the effete state sovereignty dogma, which professed to fear "centralization!"

It will take two generations, at least, to educate the children of an illiterate people up to the ordinary standard of to-day, demanded of the graduates of our public schools. But that policy, if fully carried out as already begun, will enhance the material progress of the South, and indirectly of the whole nation.

Why may not the era of reconstruction, with education—moral and intellectual—in its train, be recognized by the future historian as a new departure in the nation's progress?

Jacob Harris Patton

CANADA'S FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS CONDITION

RESULTS OF NATIONAL PROTECTION

The business condition of the Canadian Dominion at present is a subject of great interest to this Republic, as well as to Great Britain, with which it is closely connected, not only by political ties but commercial relations. A considerable portion of the last session of our neighbor's parliament was taken up by discussions in relation to that condition, for which a large amount of information had been collected from committee investigations and other reliable channels. Undoubtedly differences of opinion with respect to the actual state of the country still prevail, but this may be partly due to the colored political media through which they are regarded by the rival parties.

It has always been the rule in Canada to judge of the merits and success of any government by its financial management, the effects of which have been mainly tested by the condition of the country's trade and commerce at some suitable period. This practice, though probably in the main a safe one, may be sometimes carried too far; for in a country of different races, with exceptional problems to work out occasionally, ruling parties should be tried by other considerations than the nature of their financial excellence, which may be, in some cases, the only thing laudable to set against a host of errors and shortcomings. But in Canada all parties are sensible on the financial situation; each shows an anxiety, truly remarkable as well as proper, to prove itself right in its views and actions.

That this should be the case is not strange, for the country is of immense extent, possessing a rugged climate and a population hardly numerous enough to present, over the larger and newer portion of it, adequate signs of possession. The population could all be accommodated easily in the eastern provinces, while obliged to keep up the machinery of government and means of communication needed by a numerous and wealthy people. Consequently, the population is poor, and, regarded from the experience of the American Republic, grows slowly as to numbers and resources—a fact which produces in many of the most intelligent and calculating Canadians a natural feeling of depression which, with other unfortunate effects, checks local enterprise and discourages foreign investments.

No wonder all parties agree that, in view of the phenomenally rapid growth and development of this Republic, the only chance for the separate

existence and even moderate growth of the Dominion depends upon its prudent financial administration, with a fairly rapid increase of its population. To this end not only is a larger immigration than Canada has hitherto known necessary, but a termination of that emigration of Canadians to the United States which has for many years naturally constituted a telling theme of censure with the opposition critics and orators.

Now, coming to the practical issue, in the style of the average Canadian politician—what is the actual financial situation, and what are the prospects for the ensuing few years? To find a reliable answer to the most important inquiry, official documents as well as the late Budget speech of Sir Charles Tupper, made toward the close of last April, are used in this article with perfect fairness, and the leading views of the Liberal opposition being also given, in order that justice may be done to their side of the case.

At the outset it may be remarked that even ministerial journals observed, in their reviews of the budget, that the understanding that no tariff changes were designed robbed it of much of that interest it usually commands. In truth, the ruling party were afraid to take any liberties with it on this occasion, aware of their incessant high claims of its excellence, of late years, no less than of the danger of raising the duties on any commodity largely imported at present. Of course all parties expect any alterations to take the direction of increase, as the public outlay ever expands, and must thus continue during many years, though the opposition contend now, as they have held ever since quitting office in 1878, that this expansion is far too rapid, and its rate unnecessarily oppressive.

The Financial minister had no serious errors to defend since his assumption of the office, over a year ago, when he found the existing tariff in operation, with a fiscal and general policy upon which he could have exerted little or no influence, even if so disposed. He had, moreover, no little assistance in accounting for the hard times, or the particular extent of their inflictions, by reference to the Ontario bank failures of the year, the curtailment of lumbering and other industries, in consequence, the cessation of useful outlays, from the stoppage of railroad building by the Canadian Pacific Railway and other companies, and by the reduction of the average harvest, in that province. He might have included Quebec and other provinces, where grain crops, owing to summer droughts principally, fell from 15 to 35 per cent. below the usual average.

Sir Charles Tupper ventured to claim for the financial year 1886-87 (ending 30th June) a surplus of \$97,313—the revenue mounting to \$35,754,903, and the expenditure to \$35,657,080. But, this favorable showing was partly attributable to the unusually large release from bond of goods

expected to be further burdened by increases of the tariff. This year, 1887-88, suffered in consequence, its customs duties in April falling short of the year before by \$227,000. Sir Charles' anticipations for the ensuing year 1888-89, manifest caution and a spirit not extravagant. He evidently desires to avoid lofty expectations and the excitement of unreliable hopes in the business world. He does not, even with all reasonable desire to put the best face on the country's prospects, wish to excite the people with the vision of a more prosperous state of things next year than the past two or three have afforded. He expects from customs \$22,500,000; from excise, \$6,650,000, and from other sources \$7,750,000, or a total of \$36,900,000. This he hopes will balance the expenditure, which he first placed at one million more; economies he claims to have exercised warrants this "second thought." *Nous verrons.*

A significant symptom of Canada's unenviable position is the fact admitted by ministerial journals like the *Montreal Gazette*, that "the charge for the public debt and sinking fund shows an increment, part of it owing to the fact that the Post-Office Saving Banks deposits have enlarged;" also, "the vote for civil government steadily increases, and the pensioned classes seem ever eager for more." The services demanding those increases, for which ministers can usually make a plausible case on grounds really or assumably patriotic, before majorities of political friends in parliament and on the hustings, include new permanent military corps, railways and canals, with repairs, and other government works embracing the Intercolonial Railway, which, itself, calls for \$290,000 beyond the vote of 1887-88.

To some extent these menacing additions are offset by reductions for the ensuing year, including, as largest, \$745,000, under "public works," and \$100,000 from the grant for immigration. The Imperial Institute loses \$97,000 voted last year. Nothing could more eloquently express the government's sense of the need of economy, and of creating in the public mind the great importance of economies of this kind. They have also resolved, we are told with all possible care and emphasis, to stop all further outlay on capital account—*i.e.*, to enter upon no more public works beyond those to which the country has already pledged itself.

The Liberals, on the other hand, led by Sir Richard Cartwright and Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, argue now, as they have for a long time urged, that the public debt and expenditure have been augmented altogether too fast for the country's growth and population—that the annual outlay should not exceed \$26,000,000. Why, ten years ago, when the Liberals left office, the yearly outlay was about \$24,000,000, while now it reaches the appalling, threatening total of \$35,500,000! There is no rapid increase

of the population or public business to warrant such a speed. In truth, the country's position has been little better than a standstill one, during the last four or five years of hard times especially.

Of course the Canadian Pacific Railway can be pointed to with pride as a national work of great present value and promise. It was very rapidly and cheaply built, all the difficulties considered; and already it is helping Canada in attracting more emigrants than she has obtained in former years. But the country has paid dearly for the road in subsidies and loan guaranties, while as yet uncertain whether, for a long time, it can be worked so as to pay much more than running expenses, in view of such naturally difficult and storm-pelted sections as the north shore of Lake Superior, some six hundred miles, as well as similar perilous and costly reaches on the prairies west of Winnipeg and in the Rocky Mountains. Men who have traveled several times over the road are strongly of opinion that the Lake section will have to be abandoned. There is also the Intercolonial Railway connecting Halifax with Montreal—uniting Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia by steel if not by affection—which, though run through an old, long-settled region near the sea, and five degrees south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, cannot be made to pay within a quarter to half a million of its annual working expenses, with all the boasted advantages and economy of government management.

The critical condition of Canadian business affairs, and, as a consequence, of the political, has been clearly manifest throughout the parliamentary session at Ottawa ended a short time ago. In all the important debates on subjects affecting trade and commerce, such as the Fisheries Treaty, Free Trade with the United States, Imperial Reciprocity, the freeing of the St. Lawrence route from harbor and channel dues, the abolition of the C. P. R. North West monopoly, new grants to a host of provincial railroads and other public works, both parties appeared much impressed with the strained financial condition of the country, the people's need of relief, and the doing of everything possible to improve business and remove existing suffering and discontent.

The most brazen-faced government apologists could not well deny that the farmers are and have been hard up; that laborers' wages in the country were never so high and farmers' prices never so low; and, as a result, mortgages never were so numerous or oppressive, while even in the cities, the recent increase which our conservative protectionists continually belaud as ample proof of their supreme wisdom, as well as abundant compensation for any possible mistakes elsewhere, idle people have not been phenomena. Some of the factories have had to run on short time, occasionally.

A few sentences, with figures, will shed more useful light on the condition of the government at Ottawa and the recent trade of the Dominion; also, showing that the movements, latterly, cannot be styled uniformly progressive. The *Canada Gazette* (official) at the end of April last showed the total debt to be \$276,632,163, with assets, whatever actually worth, claimed as \$48,696,292. The expenditure for the ten months of 1887-88 on capital account was \$4,076,966. Compared with last year, the net debt has swelled nearly \$2,830,000, the assets increasing nearly \$3,729,398. Revenue for the ten months of 1887-88, \$28,624,132, and expenditure, \$26,004,486. For last year, ten months' revenue, \$28,160,936; outlay, \$25,585,548. Customs receipts for last April, \$1,702,899, or \$148,000 less than in April, 1887; excise, \$484,964, or \$59,000 below amount for April of last year.

Sir Charles Tupper, who is behind the scenes, felt it his duty on Budget night, and on other occasions, to avoid boasting and exhibit a cautious temper, this attitude best becoming the government, and being most likely, under existing circumstances, to preserve our business men from serious mistakes. A useful commentary upon ministers' policy and real opinions is supplied by the resolution which Sir Charles felt the need of having carried towards the close of the session, of which the first and chief portion is as follows: "That in addition to the sum now remaining unborrowed and negotiable of the loans authorized by parliament by any act heretofore passed, the government-in-council may raise by way of loans such sum or sums of money, not to exceed in the whole the sum of \$25,000,000, as may be required for the purpose of paying the floating indebtedness of the Dominion of Canada, and for the carrying on of the public works authorized by the parliament of Canada."

It is evident from many quarters and indications, also, that the present ministry feel fully convinced that not only their continued hold upon office, but the existence of the confederation itself, demands much care, considerable diplomatic conciliation towards the dissatisfied elements, as well as all the judicious business management which they can command.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, July, 1888.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

THEIR RELATION TO EDUCATION

The Constitution of the United States is a document which marks a new era in the world's history and the world's civilization, and deserves more careful study than has yet been given it, even by those who enjoy its blessings.

When Columbus opened a pathway across an unknown sea to an unknown continent, broad and penetrating would have been the mind which could have foreseen and foretold the least of the great results which have been achieved for humanity by those who were to become the citizens and rulers of the new domain. No one then thought that here was to be the battle ground of liberty—that here a new experiment in government was to be tried, nor that the experiment was to become a grand success.

America's shores soon became the haven of refuge for the oppressed of all nations, as well as the El Dorado of seekers for wealth and power. The latter sought only the gains of conquest—the former sought freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, to whom we owe the overthrow of the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

The American colonies naturally yielded obedience to the jurisdiction of the European power from which they sprung. Even when galled by the oppression of a tyrannical parent, few were the minds so broad or the hearts sufficiently patriotic to harbor the idea of building a great nation by the consolidation of the colonies into one homogeneous whole. Each was jealous of the other, but under the pressure of danger and the terrors of actual war they entered into "a league of friendship" for the common welfare and for mutual defense, and this league of friendship was the controlling factor of the Articles of Confederation which preceded and paved the way for the Constitution which followed.

The onward march of great events, and the grand ideas born of the dangers, privations and bloody sacrifices of the Revolution, compelled the abandonment of the Confederation, and in its place arose the majestic form of constitutional popular government, which has excited the admiration of the world, has brought us unparalleled prosperity and greatness during the century of its existence, and of which we are all so justly proud.

The Constitution ordained by the people of the United States for their own government a century ago, was not the outgrowth of experience in self-government, nor was it a copy of an older constitution or civil code.

It was rather the epitome of the best thoughts of lovers of liberty, brought down through centuries of revolt against the tyrannies of monarchical government and the idea that might makes right, and finally crystallized under the heat of oppression and wrong-doing into that great fundamental law which yet deserves the encomium once passed upon it by Gladstone, as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The very tests to which it has been subjected, the trials and adjudications by courts and legislatures both national and of individual states, and finally by the great arbitrament of battle, have served only to exhibit its strength, and the wisdom of the patriotic body to whose brain and to whose virtue we owe so inestimable a boon.

The Articles of Confederation which preceded it had proven inadequate to the wants of the new nation, but how to alter and amend them, how to get rid of the fetters, were questions which caused serious tribulation and infinite labor to those who tried to build a great nation out of the materials furnished by a collection of envious, jealous states, with diverse and conflicting opinions, predilections and necessities.

There was, however, a common desire for closer union; and the wisest statesmen concluded the time had come for the creation of a new form of government, which should be invested with powers commensurate to the country's needs. Under the Confederation Congress could declare war, but must wait for the states to furnish troops. It could maintain an army and navy, and contract debts for their support, and for the other expenditures of the government, but it could raise no funds to pay those debts, except by issuing bills of credit, and could not pay them until the states saw fit to levy taxes for the proportionate share of each. It could make treaties, but could not enforce them. It had no judiciary, and no officers who could levy and collect a tax or a debt. It had a president, but only as president of Congress, and a legislative department, but neither had authority, and proved more ornamental than useful.

States refused to execute the laws of Congress; they enacted laws impairing the obligation of contracts, declined to pay the taxes imposed by Congress, and through other hostile acts demonstrated the inability of the Confederation to meet the wants of the hour. The best in the way of improving this condition of things that a committee of Congress could offer were seven amendments to the Articles of Confederation, reported

in August, 1786, but upon these Congress was unable to agree, and the report slumbered forever. Interstate questions were constantly arising, with nowhere a tribunal possessing authority to settle them, and the weakness and approaching downfall of the Confederation was every-where apparent.

Washington and his supporters were for a strong government—a nation with power to protect itself. Their opponents were for retaining all powers in the states which in their opinion were not needed by the nation for its own sustenance, and there were as many different opinions as there were men as to what powers were necessary and what should be withheld.

We seem to owe to a dispute between Virginia and Maryland over the rights each claimed in the waters of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, the Constitution whose benefits we now enjoy. Congress had again and again been called upon to settle this controversy under the Articles of Confederation, but found itself not only powerless to enforce a decision, but also unable to reach one that was satisfactory to the states. It even failed to agree upon the question of calling a convention of the states, although urgently requested so to do. Party rancor ran high, and the danger of absolute chaos seemed imminent.

In this emergency Virginia took the initiative and invited the other states to choose commissioners to meet in convention at Annapolis in September, 1786. Only five of the central states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Delaware, sent delegates, but they acted wisely and adjourned, after recommending a convention of all the states "to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday of the next May (1787) to consider the situation of the United States, and devise such further provision as should appear necessary to render the Constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," etc. Congress failed even in this emergency to meet the wants of the people, and refused to adopt the suggestion and call the convention.

To James Madison of Virginia we are indebted for the assembling of the convention, for he issued an address to the people of all the states calling upon them to assemble at the time and place appointed; and they responded to the call. The opening day found no quorum present, but on the 25th of May seven states were represented, and a quorum was thus completed.

Washington was selected president, and William Jackson secretary, and the convention adjourned to the 28th. On re-assembling nine states were represented, and soon all the states except Rhode Island sent delegates. The doors were closed, and each member took an oath of secrecy, which

was so well kept that it was many years before the debates, proceedings and acts of this important assemblage were known to the public, except as disclosed by the Constitution itself. The convention was composed largely of men who had won fame and distinction in the war for Independence or as statesmen of that period, and of many who were yet to become presidents, law-makers, and distinguished men in the republic. Washington was among the most progressive—a leader among leaders. He spoke with no uncertain voice. Before the convention met he had written to Madison, "My wish is that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the Confederation to the bottom, and provide a radical cure whether agreed to or not."

At every point of the discussions the line was sharply drawn between the rights of the states and the powers to be granted to the general government. The battle did not end there, for the same contest has been waged down to our day, and one of the marked lines dividing political parties in our times is that called the doctrine of "states' rights."

It was on the 17th day of September, 1787, that the convention finished its labors, and the members affixed their signatures to the result. It needed the ratification of nine states, and it was the 21st of June, 1788, before the last of the nine had come to the rescue. Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in their order, ratified it before the year ended; Georgia and Connecticut in January. February brought the assent of Massachusetts, but also a proposal to add nine amendments. Maryland ratified in April, South Carolina followed in May, but proposed four amendments, New Hampshire joined in June with twelve amendments. This secured its adoption as the organic law of the nation, but it was not yet complete. When Virginia ratified, it proposed twenty amendments, and New York presented thirty-two.

Congress, almost moribund, on the 13th of September, 1788, fixed the first Wednesday of January following as the time for electing Presidential electors, the first day of February as the date of their meeting, and the first Wednesday of March as the date on and after which the new Constitution should be in force.

Only a little more than a month later, the Congress of the old Confederation died for want of a quorum, and the country was without a government from the last of October, 1788, to the 4th of March, 1789. The Supreme Court afterwards decided that the Constitution did not become operative until the inauguration of the government for which it provided. Thus the constitutional government under which we now live dates from the 30th of April, 1789.

The first national Congress had to deal with the proposed amendments. The House passed seventeen. The Senate reduced them to twelve, and of these the states ratified ten, which were in force December 15, 1791. The first of these was the one forever establishing the freedom of religious thought, the freedom of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition for the redress of grievances. Another amendment was added in 1798, and one in 1804, after which none were added until the close of the civil war.

To my mind the two grand salient features of the original instrument are—first, that providing for a trinity in the government, the creation of three co-ordinate departments, each moving in its own independent sphere, and yet combining into one harmonious whole, offering to people and to states the means for a peaceful solution of every difficulty and every question possible, if only they choose to set the machinery in motion, and are willing to abide the result. With the legislative department to make the laws, the judicial to construe, and the executive to enforce, and all deriving their power from and responsible to the people, surely, in the absence of blind passion and prejudice, the rights of all are secure. This feature has been copied by each of the states, and most of the municipalities of our great commonwealth, for the form of their local governments, and nowhere do we hear of suggestions, much less of a desire for any change. Thus is it proven to be the best plan for the accomplishment of the desired end.

Second, that providing for the dual existence of the state as a sovereign state with a separate autonomy, and as a member of the aggregation of states forming the nation. The powers of the nation are as boundless and independent in its sphere as the powers of the individual state are in its sphere, yet these powers blend in one great idea, the good and the welfare of the whole people, at home or abroad, high or low, rich or poor, within the boundaries of their own state, or wherever pleasure or duty may find them. Our state may fold its flag about and protect us at home, but abroad we look to the banner of the nation, and its folds protect us in every land and upon every sea.

Next to these in importance are the provisions for checks and balances; the national legislature composed of two houses, the members of which are chosen by the states, but in different ways and for different terms, the Senate which never dies, and the House which is a perennial fountain flowing from the people every two years, the equality of the states in one branch, the proportionate rights of the people of the whole country in the other, and the necessary concurrence of both to enact a

law; the independence of the judiciary, being elected for life, and thus removed as far as possible from the influence of the tumults of partisan strife; the veto power of the President, and the power of the representatives of the people to veto the veto itself. All taken together, they stamp the product of that grand convention as the work of wise, patriotic, far-sighted statesmen, who builded for all time, and builded perhaps better than they knew.

It is to their credit that so few and unimportant changes have been found necessary or even desirable in a century of trial—a century of progress which has seen the number of the states tripled, and the number of the people tripled five times.

Strange to say, the provision almost universally considered the most important for our rights and welfare was omitted from the original Constitution, but was the first grand idea to be promulgated by the first amendment—that establishing religious liberty and liberty of thought.

Let us not neglect to give due credit to the man to whom above all others, we owe this comprehensive, far-reaching, and most valued portion of our Constitution. The same man, who in 1765, had led the attack upon the stamp act in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and won a victory, the man who ten years later electrified not only the House of Burgesses but all the colonies and the civilized world with that oratorical outburst which struck down forever, in America, the power of the crown and made the revolution possible—the indomitable patriot, fearless advocate, and peerless statesman of his age, Patrick Henry. He was the leader in this new battle for the rights of man, and compelled the broad recognition of his demands on behalf of the people which was embodied in the first amendment to the Constitution. His life seemed one great battle for liberty and human rights.

In Virginia the Church of England was from the first established by law, and the churches sustained by a tax on all persons over sixteen years of age. This tax was rebelled against before the days of the stamp tax, and Patrick Henry won his first fame as a lawyer, as well as much malediction from the churchmen, by his successful defense of a test case brought by them to enforce the collection of the church revenues in 1763.

Two years later he signalized his advent into the House of Burgesses by his famous resolutions, and his bold advocacy of them, denying the power of the crown to impose a stamp tax upon the American colonists. Ten years later, when the wave of revolution was about to break over the colonies, and timorous men were proposing to compromise with tyranny lest war might come, he brushed all sophistry away with the brave decla-

ration, "the war is coming; it has come already," and he compelled men's minds to revolution by that wonderful speech which closed with those undying words: "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

While many hesitated about casting off their allegiance to the crown, he was one of the first to demand independence and union of the colonies. In the historic year which followed and saw independence proclaimed, his hand prepared, and his eloquent tongue successfully advocated, the article of the Virginia Bill of Rights which for the first time authoritatively asserted the doctrine of religious liberty. The Baptist Church of the colony, stung by persecution, and the injustice of being compelled to support churches and ministers of other denominations, had petitioned for the right to worship God in their own way, and the warm advocacy of their cause by the eloquent and powerful Henry, himself a churchman, endeared him to their hearts, so that, upon his election as governor, we find the Baptist churches in convention assembled hastening to tender their congratulations on account of his "constant attachment to the glorious cause of liberty and the rights of conscience." Is it any wonder that a man so endowed with the instincts of patriotism, so wary lest the rights of the people should be lost sight of, and thus endangered, should oppose with all his power of intellect the adoption of a Constitution which in his judgment neglected to provide for what he deemed indispensably necessary?

He demanded a bill of rights which would secure "the great objects of religion, liberty of the press, trial by jury, interdiction of cruel punishments," and every other sacred right, before assent should be given to it, and Virginia only gave its assent by a majority of ten where fifty had been expected, and upon the understanding that propositions to amend should be considered. Patrick Henry from that day never rested until he had brought about such a sentiment and such a condition of affairs, that Congress felt compelled to amend the Constitution so as to forever put at rest the fears of those grand patriots, who, led by the great Henry, were battling for liberty of conscience for themselves and future generations.

Prior to that, the colonies had been guilty of persecution of Catholic, Baptist, Quaker, Methodist, Jew, and any body who differed from those in power. With the advent of our constitutional government these persecutions became impossible, and a broad catholicity of sentiment caused the ægis of the new nation to be cast over and to protect the humblest believer of every creed, and the proudest scoffer as well. May that grand idea swell and fructify until the whole earth shall be wrapped in the mantle of religious charity, and the universal brotherhood of man be fully recognized!

To those who are citizens of the states organized out of what was then known as the Northwest Territory, there is another instrument born at the same time, of the same ideas, evolved from the same crucible of earnest patriotic thought, and fraught with elements calculated to produce the most important results, not only to them, but to the people of the whole country—the "Ordinance of 1787," establishing the Northwest Territory, covering what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, but what, prior to the cession, was a single county of the state of Virginia; and which ordained the fundamental doctrines for its future government.

Virginia had, in 1783, authorized its delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all its claims to the territory, and March 1, 1784, the deed of conveyance was executed, the names of two future presidents, Jefferson and Monroe, appearing among the signatures. On the 13th of July, 1787, Congress passed an ordinance for its government. This ordinance was broader than the Constitution as originally adopted, because it provided—as the Constitution did not—for the emancipation of religious thought, and the diffusion of learning among the people. The first article of what was declared to be—"a compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever unalterable except by common consent," was as follows:

"No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments."

The third article commences with, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged." And the last article crowns the sheaves with this: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory."

Thus was the great Northwest Territory forever dedicated to freedom—freedom of religious thought; freedom from bondage of body and soul; freedom from "the irrepressible conflict" which waged between other sections until at last all were involved in the civil war, which, in 1865, wrote upon our escutcheon the final decree—freedom of body, freedom of mind, freedom of soul, to every person throughout the land, whether born black or white, bond or free. Thus, too, was originated, or rather formulated, the grand idea of fostering the education of the masses, as essential to the good government of a people dedicated forever in the most solemn manner to the cause of freedom. Liberty and education went hand in hand, as did slavery and ignorance.

The Puritan of New England, harsh and bigoted as he might be, believed in education and the rights of man. The Cavalier of the South, rollicking, careless, and happy, seldom thought of his slave as having any of the aspirations of manhood, and if he thought of education at all, it seemed of little use to himself, and a dangerous plaything for the slave, and so it was that, in 1647, we find the colonists at Plymouth declaring by a public act that, "the Lord assisting their endeavours," they would provide for the education of the people by establishing schools, not only to teach "reading and writing," but "grammar schools to fit youth for the University;" while in 1670, nearly a generation later, we find the English governor of Virginia, in reply to queries addressed to him by the home government, saying, "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them."

When the Northwest Territory was about to be opened to the advancing footsteps of the vanguard of civilization, the New England idea marched at the head, for the column was composed of the New England heroes of 1776, the companions and comrades of Washington, under the lead of such patriots as General Rufus Putnam, and others equally grand in all that goes to illustrate and illuminate American character. They led the pioneers, their comrades of the Revolutionary War, into the western wilds, there to found new empires; but the column did not form for the march until it had wrested from Congress the decree, which, as we have seen, was unalterable except by common consent, that the territory was not only to be forever free, but that education was also to be free, and forever protected and fostered by the state.

The enabling act for the formation of the state of Indiana, passed on the 19th day of April, 1816, made more definite provision for carrying out the educational clause so wisely inserted in the organic law, by setting apart every section numbered sixteen to the inhabitants of the township for the use of schools, and an entire township to be selected by the President, to be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning.

All honor to the great minds and true hearts of those noble men, who, at Corydon, on the 10th day of June, 1816, adopted the first Constitution of the state of Indiana, a document richer in patriotic thought and sentiment than the one which displaced it in 1852, and a paper which should be studied by every citizen, as one of the classic political documents of the state—the foundation stone upon which all we admire and revere in our present state edifice was built.

They ordained among other things: "that all men have a natural and

indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies or modes of worship; and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit; that the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty; that knowledge and learning, generally diffused throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, . . . it shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

The committee of the convention which reported this section, deserves to be remembered with gratitude by us and by generations to come. It was composed of James Scott of Clarke County, John Badolet and William Polke of Knox, Dann Lynn of Posey, and John Boon of Harrison.

The educational idea seemed to crystallize slowly, but the legislature of 1821 appointed another committee deserving of honorable mention. It consisted of John Badolet and David Hart of Knox County, William W. Martin of Washington, James Welsh of Switzerland, Daniel I. Caswell of Franklin, Thomas C. Searle of Jefferson, and John Todd of Clarke. The joint resolution appointing them recited, by way of preamble, that, "Whereas the General Assembly of the State of Indiana are deeply impressed with the importance of knowledge and learning being diffused through the rising generation of the State of Indiana, therefore," they enact that the committee draft and report to the next General Assembly, not only a bill providing for a general system of education ascending from the common schools to a state university, as provided in the constitution, but "particularly to guard against any distinction existing in any of said institutions between the rich and the poor." What an answer is this to the assertion we sometimes hear, that the school system of to-day has been carried beyond the ideas and intentions of the founders of our government, who are falsely charged with intending to restrict the educational system of the state within the limits of the three immortal R's!

The labors of this committee, after passing under the revising care of Judge Benjamin Parke, and then of the legislature, resulted in the first general school law of Indiana, which can be found in the Revised Statutes of 1824 under the title: "An act to incorporate congressional townships, and providing for public schools therein." It fell far short of the instructions of the resolutions appointing the committee, but we must concede that for the day and the surroundings the work was well done.

That their descendants have built well upon the foundations so deeply laid, is true, but who can measure the debt we owe to those grand pioneers of not only civilization, but of education, in the Northwest Territory? Just look back through the glass of time for one hundred years. The only highways through the almost impenetrable wilderness, were the rivers and the Indian trails. Both were ever haunted by a relentless, savage race, who welcomed the settler with "bloody hands to hospitable graves." Those who sought to penetrate these wilds, never knew the moment when they might not expect the stroke of the silent arrow, or the flash of the tomahawk as it sought the brain, and many a brave soul writhed in the torture of fire, or that other torture of witnessing the sufferings of his loved ones ere he himself could die, and many a mother suffered the pangs of maternity and utter bereavement in the same bitter hour. Long after the way was found, the scanty population was composed of hardy backwoodsmen habited in buckskins, who lived by trapping and hunting while waiting for their meager crops to mature among the stumps of the little clearings which surrounded the log cabins in which they guarded wives and little ones from the attacks of savage wolves and the far more savage red men of the forest.

Yet from these cabins and from these little ones were to come the men who, in 1816, could write and ordain the Constitution from which I have quoted. To me it seems a marvelous work, something to be noted, to be remembered, and an example to be emulated and followed wherever the pathway of American civilization may lead.

All honor to the framers of the Constitution of the United States. All honor to the framers of the Ordinance of 1787.

All honor to the rugged, patriotic, great-brained men, who in the wild Indiana Territory framed the constitution which is the birthright of the state. And all honor to those who now and in the future shall follow in their footsteps, and ever be ready to defend the heritage they gave us.

P. S. Robertson,

THE RIVER OHIO

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF IT IN 1757

To the Proprietors of the Universal Magazine.

Gentlemen,

Notwithstanding our disputes in America first began on the River Ohio, yet few know any Thing of the Nature of that Country, or the Original of these Disputes ; I have therefore sent you an Account of that Country, and also of the true Cause of the Disputes, and hope you will give it a Place in your entertaining Collection.

Yours &c. K.

The river Ohio runs through a great part of our colonies of Pennsylvania and Carolina, and waters a country near five hundred miles square, which is reckoned one of the finest countries of North America. The river is, according to the best accounts, not less than ten or twelve thousand miles long, from its source near the habitations of the Six Nations to its conflux with the Mississippi, having several large rivers falling into it, that spread over a prodigious extent of country belonging to our colonies. A large branch of the Ohio, called Wood's river, from Colonel Wood of Virginia, who discovered it in 1652, and afterwards visited it several times, as can authentically be proved from the archives of the Royal Society, besides the accounts we have from our own historians. This large branch of the Ohio rises in the mountains of South Carolina, runs through that province, and all North Carolina, to the middle of Virginia : Besides several other branches of it that rise in the Apalachean mountains from the same sources with the rivers that run through our settlements east of those mountains, and make a navigation from the Ohio down to the sea-coast, excepting a small land carriage from one river to another.

The Ohio is also remarkable for its gentle current, contrary to most of the inland rivers of North America, which are very rapid, and have a great many cataracts or falls in them ; but in the Ohio we know but of one fall, being navigable both up and down, as appears from the journals and several verbal accounts of our people, who have gone up and down the whole river. They indeed observe that the Ohio is very crooked, as is common to rivers running through a level country, as this does ; but the current is, by these windings, rendered much gentler, and consequently the river more easy to navigate. This is the case of the Ohio, for it is navigable from the Mississippi almost to the river Senecaas, which falls into lake Ontario at Oswego. The river Conde, or New river, rises still nearer to the sources of the Ohio, and affords a navigation from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the Mississippi, quite across the continent of North America ; besides the many communications of the branches of the Ohio, with lake Errie.

The country on the south side of the Ohio is very mountainous, and difficult



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affords great plenty of deer, beaver, skins and furs, the richest commodities of all North America.

We need not therefore wonder that the French or any others should be desirous of maintaining themselves in this country, as they may do it at little or no expence, especially as they have such numbers of the natives at their command. Here they will soon increase and multiply, to the constant disturbance of all our colonies, as long as they are suffered to possess the country south of lake Errie.

If we consider the situation of this country between the Ohio and lake Errie, not above fifty or sixty miles broad in the eastern, but between two and three hundred in the western parts, bounded, on one hand, by the great lakes, and, on the other, by extensive ridges of mountains, having this convenient and navigable river between

to pass for some hundred miles. The Apalachean mountains there extend west within one or two hundred miles of the Mississippi. But on the north side of the Ohio, between that and lake Errie, the country is level and very fertile, being also watered with numbers of rivers, that run through it from the banks of lake Errie to the Ohio. It also affords plenty of salt springs, and even salt-water rivulets, which are of the greatest use to these inland parts. It likewise abounds with both food and raiment; for vast quantities of a kind of wild oxen are found in the extensive meadows of this country. This creature is peculiar to North America, and is larger than an ox but has a fleece like a sheep, of which several manufactures have been made little inferior to silk. Besides which this country

them, leading directly into the middle of our settlements from all the interior parts of the continent ; opposite to which likewise are many passes in the mountains, and navigable rivers, down to the maritime parts ; if we consider all this with the attention it deserves, we shall surely have no reason to ask, of what consequence must this country be to us ? Nor be destitute of motives sufficient to make us conscious of our fatal neglect. We have no other known way from any of our present settlements in all North America, except South Carolina, to any of the interior parts of that continent, but through this country, by Fort du Quesne, or Niagara. . . .

Not to mention the vast increase of people, power, trade and commerce, that this country on the Ohio must necessarily produce, its usefulness would abundantly appear, if we only consider its advantage in securing the possessions we already have, and which, without it, will be very difficult, if not impossible. Fort du Quesne and Niagara alone would protect our colonies from both the French and Indians, if well secured by us ; but, on the other side, if they remain in the hands of the French, we shall have an inland frontier of between two and three thousand miles in extent to defend ; constantly exposed to the incursions of a hostile and warlike enemy, and to the depredations of an indigent, necessitous, and barbarous people ; which it will be impossible for us to prevent, with all the forts and garrisons, and the immense charges we must be at for that purpose.

By these two places alone it is that the French are able to secure all the continent of America beyond our settlements, acquire the assistance of all the natives, and unite their colonies and straggling settlements together. . . .

The most convenient of all the places in those countries, and indeed in all the whole extensive navigation above described, from the river St. Laurence to the Mississippi, is Fort du Quesne. This place is about midway between Canada and Louisiana, and serves as a middle station between these two French colonies ; for which it is more convenient than any other place in all North America. It stands in a fine fertile country of vast extent, and in a healthy climate ; where we may expect to see the French increase and multiply apace. In these respects the territories of the Ohio are preferable to all the other possessions of the French in America.

Nature itself has conspired to render the river Ohio hereabouts a place of consequence and importance, and the rendezvous of all the people of North America, that are within reach of it. The great thing wanted in these inland parts is salt ; which is found in great plenty all round Fort du Quesne, but chiefly in the salt-ponds, between that and the lake Errie. Hence, this country, called by the Six Nations Canahogue, is resorted to from all parts. To these ponds and other salt-springs hereabouts great flocks of deer and wild oxen constantly resort for the benefit of the salt ; and on these creatures the inhabitants chiefly subsist, without either labour, charge, or expence. This draws numbers of hunters hither, the chief employment of these parts. The traders follow the hunters for their skins and furs. These are the chief causes of the war and bone of contention here,

where the warriors resort to seek their enemies. Upon these accounts the parts hereabouts are the chief support of the inhabitants, the seat of war, and mart of trade, from most parts of North America. Here the Six Nations have a town, chiefly for their hunting: And a town of each of the cantons is settled hereabouts. Here their enemies, even the Catawbias from South Carolina, attack them and fight so many battles we hear and read of. Here also the French and English Indians and traders resort, either to trade with or surprise one another.

These advantages were the more immediate occasion of the French seizing the river Ohio. They give us the most extraordinary accounts of the country hereabouts, particularly the country above described, on the south side of the lake Errie: 'The lake Errie, says La Hontan, is justly dignified with the illustrious name of Conti; for, certainly, it is the finest lake in the world. You may judge of the goodness of the climate from the latitude of the places that surround it. Its circumference extends to 230 leagues, and affords every-where the most charming prospect. Its banks are adorned with oaks, elms, chestnut, walnut, apple and plum trees, and vines which bear their fine clusters up to the very top of the trees, upon a sort of ground as smooth as one's hand. Such ornaments as these are sufficient to give rise to the most agreeable idea of a prospect. I cannot express what vast quantities of deer and turkeys are to be found in these woods, and in the vast meads that lie on the south side of the lake.' To which he adds, 'That the banks of the lake being frequented by none but warriors, it is very dangerous to stop there.'

This is a true state of the origin and first causes of our late disturbances with France; and must be a perpetual source of the like misfortunes, if the French are suffered to continue where they are.

At the same time, the French have many Indians about Fort du Quesne to support them, and other settlements, again, to back that, along the south side of the lake Errie, at those important and convenient places, Canahogue and Sandaski, and a great variety of others surrounding Fort du Quesne, and have a ready communication with it by water.

Fort du Quesne is convenient not only to Canada and Louisiana, but also to all the settlements the French have among the Indians, up and down the whole continent of North America. Here they make all those Indian nations come to them, instead of undertaking so many dangerous and expensive voyages, as they have been obliged to do, in search of the Indians; and will have all those Indians to support them here, in the same manner they have now at Montreal.

Now, of what advantage will Oswego, even suppose we were again masters of it, be to us? Certainly, of none at all. It was supported by, and built on purpose for, a trade with those Far Indians, as they call them at New York, who will be all stopped at Niagara, Fort du Quesne, and other places on the Ohio, if we suffer the French to remain in the possession of them.

Fort de Quesne then will be the very center of all the French force in North America, and will unite all their settlements in it, and all the natives of that whole

continent in one body, if, indeed, it has not done it already ; which is of much more consequence than those people imagine who are little acquainted with America and the situation of the two nations in it. For, hitherto, the force of the French in North America has been entirely broke and divided by so many straggling settlements up and down on the remote branches of the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi and the great lakes, that it has been looked upon as inconsiderable, and therefore disregarded, but when all these straggling settlements are collected and linked together, not only with one another, but with their two capitals, Quebec and New Orleans, their force will be rendered very considerable ; and this they have effected by seizing the river Ohio and Fort du Quesne.

Hence, we plainly see, that Fort du Quesne, or some place hereabouts, is or will be the most considerable and important place of any, perhaps, in all North America ; and is by its situation and many conveniences the most proper of any place to become the capital of that whole continent and give laws to it. For it should be remembered that it is not only the center of all that prodigious navigation from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, from north to south ; but there is still as considerable and a much more important navigation to it from east to west : The heads of those large rivers, Potowmack and Susquehanna, that fall into Chesapeak bay, in Virginia and Maryland, join with the branches of the Ohio hereabouts, and afford a navigation from the Atlantic ocean, even through the Apalachean mountains : At the same time there is another more considerable navigation from it westward, even to the mountains of New Mexico, by the several branches of the Mississippi that spring from them and fall into that river near the mouth of the Ohio.

We may therefore soon expect to see Fort du Quesne become as considerable and respectable a place, as it is a convenient and important one ; and to be made another Louisbourg or Quebec, if it remains in the hands of the French. And when they have secured this place, what will be the next object of their ambition ? Doubtless, one of our colonies of the sea-coasts, in order to have a more convenient passage to it. We ought, therefore, surely to consider, if we suffer the French to keep Fort de Quesne, how we shall be able to prevent them from executing their other design, namely, the seizing on one of our colonies bordering on the Atlantic ocean.

Thus have I endeavored to shew the consequence of our suffering the French to settle on the river Ohio and Fort du Quesne. Consequences that affect the very being of our colonies in America, and, therefore surely ought to rouse every Briton from his lethargy to prevent such attempts, by attacking at once their principal colony, and by that means frustrating for ever all their schemes, and fix the prosperity of our colonies on a sure foundation.

From the collection, and through courtesy of

SILAS H. PAINE.

MINOR TOPICS

ESCAPE FROM A BURNING PRAIRIE

BY GEORGE CATLIN

The prairies burning form some of the most beautiful scenes that are to be witnessed in this country, and also some of the most sublime. Every acre of these vast prairies (being covered for hundreds and hundreds of miles with a crop of grass, which dies and dries in the fall) burns over during the fall or early in the spring, leaving the ground of a black and doleful color. There are many modes by which the fire is communicated to them, both by white men and by Indians—*per accident*; and yet many more where it is voluntarily done for the purpose of getting a fresh crop of grass for the grazing of their horses, and also for easier traveling during the next summer, when there will be no old grass to lie upon the prairies, entangling the feet of man and horse as they are passing over them.

There are many meadows on the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas rivers, of many miles in breadth, which are perfectly level, with a waving grass so high that we are obliged to stand erect in our stirrups in order to look over its waving tops as we are riding through it. The fire in these, before a hurricane, travels at an immense and frightful rate, and often destroys, on their fleetest horses, parties of Indians who are so unlucky as to be overtaken by it.

When Ba'tiste, and Bogard, and I, and Patrick Raymond (who, like Bogard, had been a free trapper in the Rocky Mountains), and Pah-me-o-ne-quah (the Red Thunder), our guide back from a neighboring village, were jogging along on the summit of an elevated bluff, overlooking an immense valley of high grass, through which we were about to lay our course, I said to my comrades: "We will take that buffalo trail where the traveling herds have slashed down the high grass, and, making for that blue point, rising, as you can just discern, above this ocean of grass, a good day's work will bring us over this vast meadow before sunset."

We entered the trail and slowly progressed on our way, being obliged to follow the winding paths of the buffaloes, for the grass was higher than the backs of our horses. Soon after we entered our Indian guide dismounted, and lying prostrate on the ground with his face in the dirt. . . . "Friends, it is the season of fire," he cried "and I fear from the smell of the wind that the spirit is awake."

Red Thunder said no more, but mounted his wild horse, and waving his hand his red shoulders were seen rapidly vanishing as he glided through the thick mazes of waving grass. We were on his trail and busily traced him until the midday sun had brought us to the ground, with our refreshments set before us. He partook of them not, but stood like a statue, while his black eyes in sullen silence swept the horizon round; and then, with a deep-drawn sigh, he gracefully sunk to the earth

and laid with his face to the ground. We were in full enjoyment of the dainties of the western world when, quicker than a frightened elk, our Indian friend sprang to his feet. His eyes skimmed again slowly over the prairie's surface, and he laid himself as before on the ground.

"Red Thunder seems sullen to-day," said Bogard. "He startles at every rush of the wind and scowls at the whole world that is about him." . . . "Not wishin' to disturb you," said Patrick, "if I were advisin', I should say that we are gettin' too far into this imbustible meadow, for the grass is dry and the wind is too strong to make light matter at this season of the year; an' now I'll jist tell ye how McKenzie and I were sarved in this very place about two years ago; and he's a worldly chap and niver aslape, my word for that—hollo! what's that?"

Red Thunder was on his feet; his long arm was stretched over the grass and his blazing eye-balls starting from their sockets. "White man," said he, "see ye that small cloud lifting itself from the prairie? He rises! The hoofs of our horses have waked him! The fire spirit is awake; this wind is from his nostrils and his face is this way!"

No more; but his swift horse darted under him, and he gracefully slid over the waving grass as it was bent by the wind. Our viands were left, and we were swift on the trail. The extraordinary leaps of his wild horse occasionally raised his red shoulders to view, and he sank again in the waving billows of grass. The tremulous wind was hurrying by us fast, and on it was borne the agitated wing of the soaring eagle. His neck was stretched for the towering bluff, and the thrilling screams of his voice told the secret that was behind him. Our horses were swift and we struggled hard, yet hope was feeble, for the bluff was yet blue and nature nearly exhausted. The sunshine was dying, and a cool shadow advancing over the plains. Not daring to look back we strained every nerve. The roar of a distant cataract seemed gradually advancing on us, the winds increased, the howling tempest was maddening behind us, and the swift-winged beetle and heath-hens instinctively drew their straight lines over our heads. The fleet, bounding antelope passed us also, and the still swifter long-legged hare, who leaves but a shadow as he flies. Here was no time for thought, but I recollect the heavens were overcast, the distant thunder was heard, the lightning's glare was reddening the scene, and the smell that came on the winds struck terror to my soul. . . . The piercing yells of our savage guide at this moment came back upon the winds, his robe was seen waving in the air, and his foaming horse leaping up the towering bluff.

Our breath and our sinews in this last struggle for life were just enough to bring us to its summit. We had risen from a sea of fire! "Great God!" I exclaimed, "how sublime to gaze into that valley, where the elements of nature are so strangely convulsed!" Ask not the poet or the painter how it looked, for they can tell you not; but ask the naked savage, and watch the electric twinge of his manly nerves and muscles as he pronounces the lengthened "hush-sh—," his hand on his mouth, and his glaring eye-balls looking you to the very soul.

I beheld beneath me an immense cloud of black smoke which extended from one extremity of this vast plain to the other, and seemed majestically to roll over its surface in a bed of liquid fire ; and above this mighty desolation, as it rolled along, the whitened smoke was streaming and rising in magnificent cliffs to heaven. I stood secure but tremblingly, and heard the maddened wind which hurled this monster o'er the land.—*Eight Years among the American Indians.*

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RULING MACHINE

BY WILLIAM A. BREWER SR.

Ruled paper is so common a commodity and so universally accessible and cheap as to have almost displaced plain paper for writing purposes.

Some thirty years ago there existed an institution having its headquarters in New York city, denominated "The Paper Manufacturers' Association of the United States," of which for a time I was the secretary. A large part of my duties consisted in the collection and dissemination of statistics relating to matters touching the materials and methods of the manufacture of paper. This involved a correspondence with the proprietors of 850 paper mills in this country, as also with Dr. Rudel, of Dresden, Prussia, editor of the *Central Blatt*, and M. Louis Piette, of Paris, France, editor of the *Journal des Fabricants de Papier*, two of the highest authorities at that time upon the subject of paper and its fabrication in the world. The issuance of a monthly printed circular of paper intelligence and statistics was included in the duties of my position, and a system of exchanges was established with the conductors of the principal paper publications and factors of paper stock and materials throughout Europe. Among others Messrs. McNiven & Cameron, proprietors of the *Paper Trade Review*, published at Edinburgh, Scotland, occasionally quoted from the American Association's circular, and in 1863 invited me to become associated with them, and for some time after my imprimatur appeared upon the title page of their semi-monthly periodical.

The necessary details of my position gradually led me to imbibe a love for the whole subject, while the execution of its duties entailed an uncoveted notoriety that led to calls for society papers, lectures, etc., as well as statements to be laid before members of the United States Congress which was at the time legislating upon the subject of a reduction of the duties upon foreign manufactured papers. One of these was an "Essay on Paper," read by request before the New England Society, of Orange, in October, 1873, and a "Lecture on Paper" delivered in January, 1879, in the South Orange Presbyterian church, for the benefit of the South Orange Library Association.

Within a few years a public library has been instituted at Pensacola, Florida, and having been solicited to contribute any books that could be spared, among

other works sent by me was a copy of *Herring's Paper and Paper-Making*, imported from London for my use in discharging the duties of secretary and statistician of the forenamed association. The gift of this work involved me in the investigation of the origin of paper ruling as follows :

In November, 1887, the librarian of the Pensacola Library wrote me, "Our delightful book on paper-making does not say a word about ruling. I re-read it again to-day to be sure. A friend asked me when paper was first ruled. He has a law case somewhat depending upon the date; a certain document is written on ruled paper which, he thinks, is dated previous to the manufacture of ruled paper. None of our reference books enlighten us, but I immediately thought you could."

Now this appeal took altogether too much for granted. I knew absolutely nothing on the subject, as the question had no necessary connection with my previous official position—neither ruled paper nor paper ruling coming within the scope of paper manufacture. Nevertheless my friend's inquiry demanded some offer of aid in solving the problem. All I knew about ruling paper consisted in my experience in the public schools of Boston in the early years of the present century. It was the practice for the principals of the schools to designate certain of the older boys to rule the copy-books for the whole school to which they might severally belong (for ruled copy-books were unknown), and as a premium for this service the boys were allowed to be dismissed a half-hour before the close of the usual sessions. Each boy was required to furnish his own tools. Lead pencils were comparatively scarce and high-priced. Leaden bullets, such as were in vogue for musket balls in revolutionary times, were hammered into the form of spikes about four inches long and made thin at the lower end, and with a wooden cylindrical ruler we got along very well for those early times.

When the application from Pensacola came, there flashed to my mind the recollection that an old stationer of Boston, a friend of my father, who manufactured blank account books extensively (Mr. Josiah Loring), had upon his sign words something like "Proprietor of the Patent Cylindrical Ruler." I therefore determined to write to an old schoolmate in Boston, John T. Prince, a retired stationer and antiquarian, to aid me, if possible, in fixing upon the date at which paper was first ruled by machinery. Mr. Prince entered *con amore* into the investigation with a zeal becoming a much younger man and certainly commendatory in a person of upwards of fourscore years. In a letter to me bearing date December 5, 1887, he said :

"When I was a 'big boy' at the old West writing school I was appointed a Ruler, and that entitled us to dismissal half an hour before the other scholars. Now the duties of a Ruler were with a leaden plummet beaten from a bullet to rule the girls' writing books. Eliza —, at that time one of the big girls and probably thinking me 'a pretty little boy,' gave me a little leaden man whose cap was sharpened as a tool for ruling, and with that I ruled till nearly 1820, when I graduated and left school. Your epistle renews the memory of Eliza's gift, and suggested

the idea that machine ruling must have come into use about that time ; in after years I heard of Fairbanks' invention and of old Josiah Loring's proprietorship. Arguing from this indefinite ground, I first attacked the successors of old Josiah—now occupying his old stand and business—but of the machine and its history they were as ignorant as if it never had an existence. Then I tried my brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Groom, an Englishman and an old Boston stationer, and all he knew was that paper was ruled by machines in Birmingham, England, in 1828. So always having heard that old Josiah held a patent on Fairbanks' machine—Fairbanks being in his employ and impecunious—Loring bought out his patent, probably for a song, and doled out to him as his necessities or desires required : the next thing for me was to find out the date when the patent was granted. So last evening I passed an hour or two with my friend, Mr. Osmyn Brewster, an old Boston book publisher, and he remembered the facts but not the date. Meanwhile I had at the Athenaeum overhauled the files of Patent Office Reports, but they only commenced in 1841 and gave no light. Mr. Brewster, the book publisher, did not agree with me as to the date ; he thought the patent must have been as far back as 1815, and Mr. Groom, the Englishman, thought Fairbanks got his ideas from the engineer of the Thames tunnel. So I found "The Life of Isambard Kingdom Brunel," written by himself ; but in all the long list of his inventions I could find no ruling machine. I put all further inquiry off till to-day, and after breakfast wended my way to the City Public Library, and here a complete set of Reports, *ab initio*, are found properly indexed, and John Fairbanks' invention patented in 1808, for Cylindrical Ruling Machine. The first English patent for a like machine was August 17, 1835. Tradition has always given Fairbanks the credit of inventing the first ruling machine. Josiah Loring had the first patent of 1808, purchased from Fairbanks, for his exclusive use, which would carry him to 1815 (seven years). Then he had the right of renewal for seven years longer, that is, till 1822, and it probably came into general use in 1823."

Thus much for the original machine. Since writing the foregoing in January last, I have received a letter from my old friend in Boston, who gives me the following data concerning the improvements upon the original invention, to-wit :

1. "After some years of use of the cylindrical machine, it was entirely supplanted by the horizontal machine, also (I think) a Boston invention.
2. "The horizontal machine has been very much improved by Hickok, of Philadelphia.
3. "The horizontal machine has been still further perfected by automatic additions by Charles F. West, of Boston, enabling him to complete with ease those complicated columns required in the book-keeping of banks, insurance, and railway companies."

(Signed)

JOHN T. PRINCE.

BOSTON, MASS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

PETITION TO THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN 1793

AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT THAT RECITES ITS OWN STORY

Contributed by S. Victor Constant.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the
State of New York in Senate & Assem-
bly convened.

The Petition of the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Seventh Ward of the City
of New York

Humbly sheweth

That it is the Practice of certain disorderly and idle Persons to carry Fire
Arms and so discharge the same upon the Land and near the Dwelling Houses
and Outhouses of your Petitioners ; by which Conduct they are not only injured
in their Property but their Persons are exposed to Danger—— That the Remedy
for such Injuries according to the Common Course of Law is tedious and uncer-
tain and even if a Recovery be had the Perpetrators cannot answer in Damages to
the Party aggrieved.

That previous to the Resolution to wit on the 20 Day of December 1763 an
Act was passed for the Prevention of such Enormities but that it has since been
repealed.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that a Law may be enacted to prevent
the above-mentioned Practice in future and to direct a summary Method of bring-
ing Offenders to Punishment.

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound will ever pray &c
New York, January 24th, 1793

Anthony Lispenard
Pr Stuyvesant
Horatio Gates

Samuel Kip

James Beekman
Abr^m K. Beekman

John Ousterman
Nich Romain
Samuel Hallett
his
Will^m + Lott
mark
Oliver Hibberd
Jacob Banta

John Hardenbrook	Nicholas Sauers
Com ^s C. Roosevelt	Oliver Hyde
Willet	Cornelius Clopper
John De Peyster	Fran ^s Bay Winthrop
Jane Hopper	Mangle Minthorne
Tunis Somarindick	Andrew Hopper
Ch W. Apthorp	Arendt Van Hook
John Horn	Jesph Graham
Martha Norton	Matth Bryce
Mary Clarke	Edward Williams
Casper Damler	Isaac Varian
Thomas Buchanan	Henry Brevoort
George Campbell	Jacob Sperry
David Williamson	William Jaques
John Coutant	Rem Rapelje
Jn ^o Buyers	Ann McAdam
Tho ^s Foster	Nicholas Bayard
Christopher Grindlemyer	W ^m Bayard
Jacob Arden	Nich Hoffman
David Mann	

INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

Extract from a letter of Col. Benj. Tallmadge to Gen. Rufus Putnam

(From the Putnam Manuscripts in Library of Marietta College.)

Contributed by E. C. Dawes.

Litchfield Conn

June 20, 1796.

* * * * Our beloved President shines more illustrious than ever. He seems to be less guarded in his observations respecting *Men* and *Measures* than he used to be, for he clearly discerns who are for the support of the Constitution and Government of our Country and who wish to blend our happy Government with that of France. May Heaven defend us from foreign Influence of all kinds. I dined with old *Montezuma* soon after the appropriation law was passed and I think I never saw him more cheerful and happy and never less reserved. Politicks which you know seldom ever has been admitted at his table, made no small part of the amusement.

NOTES

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A DANCER—The record of the Father of our Country for patriotism, piety, and fishing, has passed into history, but if the following extract correctly describes his endurance, in dancing he takes the cake.

"We had a little dance at my quarters a few evenings past. His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without sitting down. Upon the whole we had a pretty little frisk."—*Gen. Greene to Col. Wadsworth, dated Pluckemin, N. J., March 19, 1779.*

PETERSFIELD

REV. GEORGE ROBERT GLEIG—A strikingly diversified career has just been closed by the death in England of Rev. George Robert Gleig, aged ninety-two. His father was a Scotch bishop of conspicuous theological and literary ability. The son was educated at Glasgow and at Oxford, but left the university without taking his degree, to enter the army. He served with the Duke of Wellington in the peninsular campaign, and took part in the war of 1812, being severely wounded at the capture of Washington. The *Magazine of American History* published some time ago a few of his reminiscences of the war, as well as a letter from Mr. Gleig himself. In consequence of his wound he gave up the army life and went back to Oxford where he was admitted to holy orders. He became successively curate of Ash, rector of Ivychurch and chaplain of Chelsea hospital. In 1846 he was made chaplain-general of the forces, and afterward became inspector-general of military

schools and prebendary of St. Paul's. He wrote a score of books, including accounts of the campaigns at Washington and New Orleans and the battle of Waterloo, the lives of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings and the Duke of Wellington, and *The Subaltern*, a humorous sketch of his experience in the Spanish peninsula.—*Springfield Republican.*

ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS—It was a Florentine who found, buried in a heap of dust, and in a rotten coffer belonging to the monastery of Saint Gal, the works of Quintilian; and, by this fortunate discovery, gave them to the republic of letters. Papirius Masson found, in the house of a bookbinder of Lyons, the works of Agobart. The mechanic was on the point of using the manuscripts to line the covers of his books.

Raimond Soranzo, a celebrated lawyer in the papal court at Avignon, about the middle of the fourteenth century, had in his possession the two books of Cicero on Glory. He made a present of them to Petrarch, who lent them to an aged and poor man of letters, formerly his preceptor. Urged by extreme poverty, the old man pawned them; and returning home, died suddenly, without having revealed where he had left them: since which time they have never been recovered.

Leonard Aretin was one of the most distinguished scholars at the dawn of literature; but he has done that which reflects on him great dishonor. He found a Greek manuscript of Procopius de Bello Gothico. This he translated

into Latin and published the work as his own. Since, however, other manuscripts of the same work have been discovered; and the fraud of Leonard Aretin is apparent.

Machiavel acted more adroitly in a similar case. A manuscript of the Apophthegms of the ancients, by Plutarch, having fallen into his hands, he selected those which pleased him and put them into the mouth of one of his heroes.

A page of the second Decade of Livy was found by a man of letters on the parchment of his battledore, as he was amusing himself in the country. He ran directly to the maker of the battledore: but arrived too late; the man had finished the last page of Livy, in completing a large order for these articles about a week before.

Sir Robert Cotton, being one day at his tailor's, discovered that the man held in his hand, ready to be cut up for measures, the original Magna Charta, with all its appendages of seals and signature. He bought this singular curiosity for a trifle; and recovered, in this manner, what had long been given over for lost.—*Universal Magazine, London, England, January, 1792.*

† ANECDOTE OF COLONEL WILKES — From the journal of Edward Gibbon, the historian. "September 23d, 1762. Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckinghamshire militia, dined with us and renewed the acquaintance Sir Thomas and myself had begun at Reading. I scarcely ever met with a better companion: he was inexhaustible in spirits, infinite wit and humor with a great deal of knowledge. He told

us himself that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune. Upon this principle he has connected himself closely with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and commenced being a public adversary to Lord Bute, whom he abuses weekly in the *North Briton*, and other political papers in which he is concerned. This proved a very debauched day; we drank a good deal both after dinner and supper; and when at last Wilkes had retired, Sir Thomas and some others, of whom I was not one, broke into his room, and made him drink a bottle of claret in bed."

CHARACTER OF EDWARD GIBBON, by himself. "May 8, 1762—This was my birthday, on which I entered into the twenty-sixth year of my age. This gave me occasion to look a little into myself, and consider impartially my good and bad qualities. It appeared to me, upon this inquiry, that my character was virtuous, incapable of a base action, and formed for generous one's; but that it was proud, violent, and disagreeable in society. These qualities I must endeavor to cultivate, extirpate, or restrain, according to their different tendency. Wit I have none. My imagination is rather strong than pleasing. My memory both capacious and retentive. The shining qualities of my understanding are extensiveness and penetration; but I want both quickness and exactness. As to my situation in life, though I may sometimes repine at it, it is perhaps the best adapted to my character. I can command all the conveniences of life, and I can command too that independence (that first earthly blessing), which is

hardly to be met with in a higher or lower fortune. When I talk of my situation, I must exclude that temporary one, of being in the militia. Though I go through it with spirit and application, it is both unfit for, and unworthy of me."—*Gibbon's Journal*.

MARTIN VAN BUREN—In 1802 Martin Van Buren entered the office of William P. Van Ness, in the city of New York, to complete his seventh and final year of legal study. Van Ness was himself from Columbia county, and an eminent lawyer. He was afterwards appointed United States District Judge by Madison, and was then an influential Republican and a close friend and defender of Aaron Burr, then the Vice-President. The native powers and fascination of Burr were at their zenith; though his political character blasted. Van Buren

made his acquaintance, and was treated with the distinguished and flattering attention which the wisest of public men often show to young men of promise. Van Buren's enemies were absurdly fond of the fancy that in this slight intercourse he had acquired the skill and grace of his manner, and the easy principles and love of intrigue which they ascribed to him. Burr, for years after he was utterly disabled, inspired a childish terror in American politics. The mystery and dread about him were used by the opponents of Jackson because Burr had early pointed him out for the Presidency, and by the opponents of Clay, because in early life he had given Burr professional assistance. But upon Burr's candidacy for governor, in 1804, Van Buren's freedom from his influence was clearly enough exhibited.—SHEPARD'S
MARTIN VAN BUREN.

QUERIES

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Can any one of your readers tell me when slavery was abolished in New Hampshire?

A. H. LAIDLAW, JR.
137 WEST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

THE HUGUENOTS—What was the name of the Huguenot who was exempted from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and for what reason was his life preserved?

S. S.

SHIPS AND TROOPS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION—"History has hardly made sufficient note of the fact that the naval and military armament of 300 sail and 31,000 troops sent

against New York at the opening of the Revolution was very much larger than the famous Spanish Armada which so terrified the whole of England 300 years ago; while yet the town of 25,000 people, and the Continental army of less than 20,000 effective soldiers met the invasion with unshaken determination."

The above quotation is from the *New York Evening Mail and Express* of a recent date. Will some of the readers of the *Magazine of American History* kindly state whether the statement regarding the number of ships and troops is correct, and upon what authority it is made?

J. H. B.

REPLIES

ELIZABETH CANNING [xix. 438, xx. 79]—I observe that some of your correspondents are in quest of information respecting Elizabeth Canning, of Connecticut. Her life in England was written by Voltaire, in illustration of his plea for the Calar family, her case being a remarkable instance of the danger of trusting circumstantial evidence. See "Works of Voltaire" (97-volume edition), vol. 38, p. 360.

J. P.

NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD [xx. 158]—There is a curious wooden statue in the Museum of Antiquities at Boulak, Egypt, which is said to be six thousand years old. It is that of a man, apparently a civilized man, the figure full of life, standing erect holding a staff. The pose expresses vigor, action, pride, and the head indicates a man of intellect. It was discovered by Marietta Bey, the French Egyptologist at Memphis, but nothing is known of its history.

C. WILMOT

MONTPELIER, VERMONT.

COMMON SCHOOLS [xix. 524]—EDUCATION IN ENGLAND [xix. 525]—*The Teachers' Telephone* extracts the following in connection with the above subjects: "The public-school system in the West, when once the long dormant germ was fully matured, was a plant of rapid, though substantial growth. But little more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the awakening began and the true value and importance of the

free school became generally recognized. In nothing else has there ever been a more wonderful or more noble progress. The log school-houses have vanished, to give place to handsome, often elegant, frame, brick, and stone edifices. Instead of the rudeness and discomfort which characterized the district school of the earlier day, every necessary convenience is at hand to give pleasure to the pupil and lend assistance to the teacher. The pride of every village is its school building and its efficient public school, in which every child may receive, free of cost, the best instruction that is anywhere afforded. There are to-day in the five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, more than fifty thousand school-houses in which schools are maintained from three to ten months every year. The value of these buildings, with the grounds, is considerably over eighty millions of dollars, which is more than one-half that of all other public school property in the Union. Nearly three millions of children annually receive instruction in the public schools; while more than eighty-five thousand teachers, a large number of whom have been trained especially for their work, are employed as instructors. The total amount expended each year for the support of these schools somewhat exceeds thirty-two millions of dollars, or more than eight dollars for each child of school age within the States. As to the character of the instruction given, it is sufficient to say that it is nowhere excelled."

—JAMES BALDWIN IN SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE FOR MAY.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In speaking of the historical literature of our country, Edwin Percy Whipple says Motley's histories are in some degree epics. "As he frequently crosses Prescott's path in his presentation of the ideas, passions and persons of the sixteenth century, it is curious to note the serenity of Prescott's narrative as contrasted with the swift chivalric impatience of wrongs which animates almost every page of Motley. Both imaginatively reproduce what they have investigated; both have the eye to see and the reason to discriminate; both substantially agree in their judgments as to events and characters; but Prescott quietly allows his readers, as a jury, to render their verdict on the statement of facts, while Motley somewhat fiercely pushes forward to anticipate it. Prescott calmly represents; Motley intensely feels. Prescott is on the watch-tower surveying the battle; Motley plunges into the thickest of the fight. In temperament no two historians could be more apart; in judgment they are identical."

Prescott early in his literary life resolved neither to consult or imitate any model for style but simply to follow his own natural current of thought and expression. When his "History of Ferdinand and Isabella" was published, the reviewers, particularly in England, made a point of discussing and commenting upon his style. Prescott was surprised and seriously disturbed by some of the adverse criticisms, so much so that he spent considerable time in laboriously studying into his own methods, after which he penned these words: "My conclusion from the whole is—after a very honest and careful examination of the matter—that the reader may take my style for better or for worse as it is now formed."

Thenceforward to the end of his life Prescott was very careful in correcting his works before they were printed, but he never interfered with the characteristics of his own peculiar style, nor permitted any friend or critic to do it. He said, "A man's style, to be worth anything, should be the natural expression of his mental character, and when it is not, the style is either painfully affected or it falls into that conventional tone which like a domino at a masquerade, or the tone of good breeding in society, may be assumed by anybody that takes pains to acquire it; fitting one person as well as another and belonging to anybody—nobody. The best consequence of such a style is that it offends no one. It delights no one for it is common-place. It is true that a genius will show itself under this coating, as an original will peep out under a domino. But this is not the best dress for it. The best undoubtedly for every writer is the form of expression best suited to his peculiar turn of thinking, even at some hazard of violating the conventional tone. It is this alone which can give full force to his thoughts. Franklin's style would have borne more ornament—Washington Irving could have done with less. Johnson and Gibbon might have had much less formality, and Hume and Goldsmith might have occasionally pointed their sentences with more effect. But if they had abandoned the natural suggestions of their genius, and aimed at the contrary, would they not in mending a hole, as Scott says, have very likely made two."

Mr. Hunnawell gives some interesting glimpses of social life in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in the history of that town. He says, "Drinking habits, in varying degree, continued some time into the present century, so that it was hardly civil to receive a call even from the minister without an offer of a glass of something—to the minister it would be wine. As late as 1818, a church council of eighty-four persons had at their dinner nine decanters of brandy, forty bottles of wine, and one-hundred and forty-four cigars, besides pipes." Concerning dress, he says, "The fashion followed those of town-life in Europe. A few of the earlier prominent men must have had an imposing look . . . Thomas Russell, nearly six feet high, appeared on Change in hair powdered and tied, a cocked hat, and 'sable-lined silk great-coat from Russia,' while he carried 'a gold-headed India cane.'"

How a paragraph in a Democratic journal was turned to account in the Presidential campaign of 1840, is graphically told in his autobiography by Thurlow Weed. "A Richmond paper manifested its contempt for General Harrison in these words: 'Give him a barrel of hard cider, and a pension of two thousand dollars, and our word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days contented in a log cabin.' Immediately Whig journals and speakers inaugurated a 'hard cider' and 'log cabin' canvass. Log cabins were erected in cities and villages, the 'latch strings' of which were always 'out.' To most of the present generation the 'latch string' in the door of a log cabin requires explanation. In the primitive and almost wilderness days of our country, admittance to the log cabin was obtained by pulling the string attached to the latch on the inside of the door. At night the latch string was pulled in. During the campaign the Whigs boasted that the 'latch string was always out,' hospitably inviting all who appreciated hard cider as a beverage. Log cabins were impressed upon medals and badges. Two or three weeks before the election intelligent Democrats saw that songs, log cabins, and hard cider were carrying the masses against Van Buren."

Educational considerations and the future of our country demand that the growing generation be made acquainted with our own history. Geography and history are closely allied. The study of geography it is said must be based upon a solid foundation of sense-perception, and this is far more necessary in history. The student comes to the high school or college with the firmly laid substructure of his entire being. He has acquired tastes which no professor of history can counteract. He ought to bring with him some knowledge of national affairs and of political institutions, learned in the preparatory classes; he should have heard enough in his developing years to kindle the fire of enthusiasm and inspire him with curiosity about past generations—what they thought, how they looked, where they lived, and what they achieved. It is said, and we fear it is true, "that in no country is history taught less than in America, and in no country are more laws made and broken than here. The former is the cause, the latter is the effect." And yet we have in literature admirable masterpieces of historical writing, which create indelible impressions upon the mind and imagination, and can be heartily recommended to teachers and pupils of every grade.

BOOK NOTICES

THE BRITISH INVASION FROM THE NORTH. The campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777. With the *JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT WILLIAM DIGBY* of the 53d, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot. Illustrated with historical notes by JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M. Square 8vo, pp. 412. Albany, New York. Joel Munsell's Sons.

The journal of Lieutenant Digby sheds light upon many features of the famous campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne in 1776 and 1777, and to Mr. Baxter, we owe a debt of gratitude for its discovery in the British Museum, and presentation to the reading public in the present carefully edited volume. The first part of the journal relates to the events and incidents attendant upon the expulsion of the Americans from Canada in the summer and autumn of 1776. But Digby's account of the second campaign of 1777, in which he followed the fortunes of his general to the bitter end, is the more interesting of the two. He gives a graphic account of the marches of the British army through the woods, in a country with which they had little or no knowledge, and the sufferings and perils of each day. Under date of July 7, he describes a sharp encounter with the enemy, whom they routed, and adds, "we were obliged to fell trees in order to make a breastwork for our protection. . . . We were very badly off for provisions, and nothing but water to drink, and though it rained very hard after the engagement we had no covering to shelter us." On the 9th he writes, "we received orders to march toward Skeensborough. We were obliged to leave all our wounded behind us with a subaltern guard, who received orders, if attacked, to surrender and rely on the mercy of the enemy. This was a severe order, but it could not be helped in our situation."

In narrating the events of the Saratoga battle Digby says, "We burned Schuyler's house to prevent a lodgment being formed behind it, and almost all our remaining baggage rather than it should fall into their hands." Concerning the surrender he dwells upon the scene when the British soldiers marched out according to the treaty, remarking, "As to my own feelings, I cannot express them. Tears (though unmanly) forced their way, and if alone, I could have burst to give myself vent. I never shall forget the appearance of their troops on our marching past them; a dead silence universally reigned through their numerous columns, and even then, they seemed struck with our situation and dare scarce lift up their eyes to view British troops in such a situation. I must say their decent be-

havior during the time (to us so greatly fallen) merited the utmost approbation and praise."

Mr. Baxter in the opening of the volume gives a clear, succinct account of the "campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne," occupying seventy-five pages, which will be a boon to the students, and his explanatory and biographical notes scattered through the work are of surpassing value. Concerning Digby, who was among the paroled officers at Saratoga, but little is known of his subsequent career. Mr. Baxter says he has been baffled thus far in obtaining particulars concerning his family and early history, and finds him recorded in the War Office as having retired from military service in 1787.

THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. By DAVID J. HILL, LL.D., President of Bucknell University. 16mo, pp. 321. Boston. Silver, Burdette & Co.

The recent triangular controversy between Dr. Field and Mr. Gladstone on the one hand, and Col. Ingersoll on the other, has attracted so much attention that if for no other reason the present volume would be timely. But in the light of history such a work is always timely. It is a noteworthy fact that society has organized itself in Christendom as nowhere else in the world, and a philosophical study of the process embraces a wide range of subjects. In a single small volume only the most cursory treatment is possible, but Dr. Hill has brought to bear a skilled hand and well trained mind, and the influence of Christ's teachings, are treated with clearness, brevity and comprehensiveness, including even the modern phases of labor, wealth, marriage, education, legislation and crime. The lesson taught is in brief that the Christian conception of man is closely related to social progress, and that it cannot be neglected without serious danger to the whole social fabric.

POLITICAL ESSAYS. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo, pp. 326. Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Beginning with his famous arraignment of the American Tract Society in 1858, and ending with "The Place of the Independent in Politics," an address to the Reform Club of this city during the present year, this series of twelve essays is in substance a review of American history during the most momentous period of the republic. It is only necessary to recapitulate the headings of the different chapters to show how valuable is the volume as a record of current discussion at the periods indicated:

"The election in November" (1860), "E.

Pluribus Unum" (1861), "The Pickens-and-Stealins Rebellion" (1861), "General McClellan's Report" (1864), "The Rebellion; its Causes and Consequences" (1864), "McClellan or Lincoln" (1864), "Reconstruction" (1865), "Scotch the Snake or Kill it" (1865), "The President on the Stump" (1866), "The Seward-Johnson Reaction" (1866). These with the addresses cited at first make up a notable series of essays. As a leader of contemporary opinion Mr. Lowell has for nearly a quarter of a century held a conspicuous place in American literature, and it goes without saying that the brilliancy of his diction and the incisive quality of his thought lose nothing through the lapse of time. His admirers will re-read with renewed appreciation the addresses, which, when they were originally delivered were received by the loyal states with universal and unqualified marks of approval. His more recent assertion of a right to think outside of party lines has subjected him to much bitter criticism from his former political associates, but he can well afford to break a lance for political freedom where mere partisanship is concerned.

A CENTURY OF TOWN LIFE. A History of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1775-1887. With Surveys, Records, and twenty-eight pages of Plans and Views. By JAMES F. HUNNEWELL. 8vo. pp. 376. Boston, 1888: Little, Brown & Company.

The town of Charlestown, Massachusetts, is one of the oldest and most interesting in the country. The author of this well conceived and valuable work has had the taste and courage as well as uncommon opportunities for investigating faithfully the old deeds, plans, records, and other documents, and he has reconstructed from scattered materials a most satisfactory survey of old Charlestown before it was burned a hundred years ago. One newspaper of that day states that when destroyed "Charlestown contained about three hundred dwelling-houses, one hundred and fifty or two hundred of which were large and elegant." But the author explains that "ideas of elegance were then very different from those we have." Mr. Hunnewell's description of the place in 1775 is unique from the laborious examinations and careful stringing together of separate authorities which appear on the face of it. The deeds afforded him the best of all available information, yet they often left the position of estates a puzzle. "The exact site of the first government building of Massachusetts Bay could hardly be determined until the exact position of a certain post in Mary Long's fence was known."

Mr. Hunnewell also gives entire, important records hitherto unpublished and not generally

accessible, about a great number of persons whose descendants are now widely scattered. And he has made a bibliography in which he has directed the reader to at least a hundred books and pamphlets, and to over four hundred notices in books, about individuals, natives or residents—an amount of biographical matter that would fill several volumes. The history of the first church, covering a period of two hundred and fifty years, he has made a chapter of special importance. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, the author of the first geography ever published in this country, was called to the pastorate in April, 1789, and his ministry extended over thirty years. He was the father of Samuel Finley Breese Morse, inventor of the telegraph. The author says: "The effects of the last war with England were severe in this vicinity. In 1815 the town, that then contained about five thousand people, was recovering." On page 261 is a fac-simile of the title-page of the first Charlestown book, written and printed in this country in 1673. The first shop in the town for the sale of books and writing materials was opened in 1715. The first practical attempt to establish a public library was in 1853. The illustrations add greatly to the interest of the book. The view of Bunker's Hill copied from the "Gentleman's Magazine" of February, 1790, is a striking example of the wood-cut of the period. The plan of the pews on the floor of the first church meeting-house, in 1804, and the sketch of Charlestown in 1638, are particularly interesting. The oldest houses in Charlestown are graphically described, and a view given of the one in which the author resides.

MEXICO, PICTURESQUE, POLITICAL, PROGRESSIVE. By MARY ELIZABETH BLAKE and MARGARET F. SULLIVAN. 16mo. pp. 228. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

It is not generally realized by the people of the United States how rapidly the two great American republics are being united by railroads and the common ties that unify the nations. They know as little of Mexican conditions and prosperity as they do of her vast resources. It is significant, however, that two of the most enterprising of our magazines, *The Century* and *Lippincott's*, devote considerable space in their August issues to romances with scenes laid among the mountains of our sister republic, and when popular writers of fiction select a common stage for their romances it is a tolerably certain indication of a coming change. The present volume, with its dual authorship, represents the East and the West. Mrs. Blake being a Bostonian, while Mrs. Sullivan is from Chicago. We are not aware that a similar literary partnership has ever before existed. May it prove an aus-

picious forerunner of many such! Mrs. Sullivan is the well-known correspondent and art critic of the Chicago *Tribune* and *Herald*, and of the *New York Sun*, and is the author of "Ireland of To-day." Mrs. Blake has long been on the staff of the *Boston Journal*, and is a frequent contributor to current publications. She is the author of a volume of poems, and of "On the Wing," descriptive of a trip to California.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE Portrayed by himself. By ROBERT WATERS. 16mo, pp. 347. New York: Worthington Company.

An autobiography of the Bard of Avon would certainly be a novelty at this late day, and it is a happy idea to study the most famous pages of English literature with a view to arriving at a just estimate of the author's personality. When no contemporary biography of a person is extant, it is obviously proper to look for material to make good the deficiency in his deeds. Mr. Waters thinks that in the character of Henry the Fifth, Shakespeare drew his own portrait, and certainly many points of similarity are emphasized in a way which, if not convincing, are certainly suggestive. In such a comparison, of course, it was necessary to dip into history, in order to sustain or disprove the theory, and the author has consulted the chroniclers of Prince Henry's time with commendable diligence. It is noteworthy that in the very plays which Mr. Ignatius Donnelly selects for the development of his extraordinary Baconian cipher, the present author finds the strongest arguments in support of his own views. Mr. Donnelly and his book come in for a full share of criticism in the course of the volume, several chapters being devoted to a review of his attempted demonstrations. Upon the whole, the volume is a very acceptable addition to the already numerous, and rapidly increasing list of Shakespeareana, and every lover of the great dramatist will, after reading this book, turn with renewed interest to the perusal of his favorite plays.

HARVARD REMINISCENCES. By ANDREW P. FEABODY, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 216. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

The venerable Professor of Christian Morals at Cambridge, and long preacher to the University, has done well to place on record his reminiscences of the distinguished men who have been his contemporaries. His purpose is to preserve in permanent form his recollections of the college as it was when he was an undergraduate and during the subsequent years when as a theological student and as a tutor he resided at Harvard. The period covers the years 1776 to 1831 inclusive, and to it is appended a chapter of reminiscences concerning his own nov-

tiate, a period now so long past that it may be safely regarded as beyond the memory of all save a very few among the surviving alumni. To Harvard men it must prove a valuable addition to the memorabilia which form a part of almost every student's library.

THE GEORGE CATLIN INDIAN GALLERY in the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution). With Memoirs and Statistics. By THOMAS DONALDSON. Author's Edition. 8vo, pp. 939. The Government Printing House, Washington, D. C.

George Catlin began the work of creating a gallery of paintings of North American Indians in 1829 and completed it in 1838. He first offered the gallery to the Smithsonian Institution in 1846, and in 1881, after many vicissitudes and misfortunes it found a permanent lodgment there. Mr. Catlin was convinced that the decline and possible extinction of the North American Indians would give importance to their pictorial history, and unaided and unadvised, went about the work with his brush and pen. He visited forty-eight tribes, lived with them in their own villages, carrying his canvas and colors with him, and painted a large number of portraits from life. He was very careful in the matter of the authentication of his pictures, not infrequently obtaining certificates from Indian agents, officers of the army, and the fur company's interpreters, who were with him. He had no trading purposes to serve, and excited no enmity among the savages by teachings or otherwise. He made no effort to obtain ancient history of a people who knew no writing, but wisely confined his labors to depicting exactly what he saw and that only. His diaries convey the vivid impressions of the moment—faithful and accurate observations, to which future writers will turn for authentic statements. His unique gallery was exhibited for some time in London, and attracted universal attention. He compiled a work from letters which he had written to the *New York Commercial Advertiser* between the years 1830 and 1839 at the instance of Colonel W. L. Stone, its editor, adding some additional notes, which was published under the title of "Eight Years Among the American Indians." An effort was made to retain the collection in England. He exhibited it in Paris in 1845, and the press of the French city was unanimous in its praise. Mr. Catlin's drawings and paintings have furnished illustrations and data for thousands of works on the Indians of America, and for theatres and "Wild West" exhibitions. They have been modified, cut, altered, changed, but they nevertheless remain Catlin's work. Authors in all lands have used them, and stories without number have been based upon them.

No man of his station or who had done so much, says Donaldson, left so little from which to give a correct account of his private life. Nowhere does he give the date of his birth. He died in Jersey City in 1872. The history of the travels of his gallery is tersely told in the introductory chapter. It was turned out of Paris in 1848 by the Revolution and went back to England. The volume before us is a mine of information. It is impossible to open it at any page without being interested and inclined to read indefinitely.

BEFORE THE DAWN. A story of Paris and the Jacquerie. By GEORGE DULAC. 16 mo, pp. 307. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

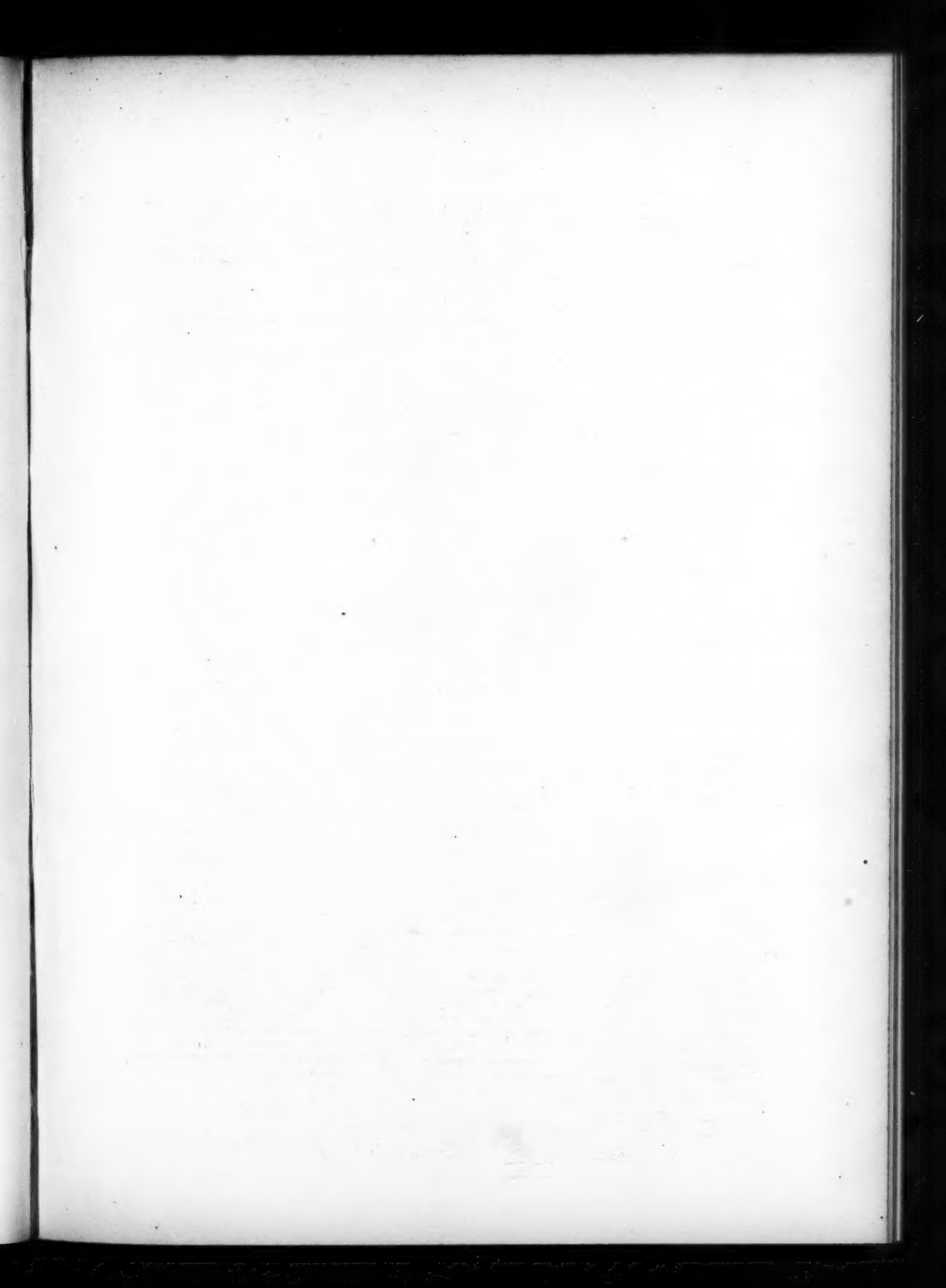
This striking story is a fitting companion for Mr. Walter Bessant's "Sunrise," which is now attracting the attention of novel readers and to some extent, of students of communistic problems. But whereas the one deals with the great reformatory combinations of the present day when the first rays of sunlight may be said to have penetrated the dark cloud of oppression that has hung over the laboring classes, the other treats of the early uprisings of the French peasantry against feudal despotism. The pictures of life in those times, of the fierce encounters between the tenantry and their lords; of the brutal passions of the time are well done and thrilling in the extreme. Apparently the author has made a careful study of the social castes of the time, and has caught the spirit and color of the conditions which he endeavors to present.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY NORTH-MEN. With Maps and Illustrations. Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Leif Eriksen. Delivered at Faneuil Hall, October 29, 1887. By EBEN NORTON HORSFORD. 4to, pp. 113. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

In this elegantly printed volume Professor Horsford presents in permanent form the story of the discovery of America by the Northmen in all its essential particulars. It is crowded with welcome and valuable information. In the appendix he has added notes and data that will instruct the reader as to the principal sources of saga lore. A series of beautiful maps and other illustrations are scattered through the work, explaining much of the text. A heliotype facsimile of a page from the Saga of Eirik the Red—from the manuscript of the Codex Flateyensis—and an artistically executed map of Iceland, are especially deserving of mention. Professor Horsford has been an indefatigable student for

many years of this much discussed and intensely interesting subject of the early voyages to this country, and has apparently brought skillfully to the front all the arguments and evidence in support of Leif Eriksen's claim to the original discovery of America, that are worthy of consideration. A colored picture of the monument erected in Boston in 1887 to the memory of Leif Eriksen forms the frontispiece to the volume, and a general chart showing the discoveries of the Scandinavians in the arctic regions is placed opposite the opening of Chapter I. A sketch of the ruins of an ancient church at Gardar in Southern Greenland, next attracts attention, and we learn that the Bishopric of Gardar was occupied from 1121 to 1537.

Excellent authorities are marshaled into service by the Professor to sustain the generally accepted facts that somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, distant at least a fortnight's sail, there were, for three hundred years after the beginning of the eleventh century, Norse colonies on the coast of the continent of America, called Vinland, and that the first Northman to set foot on the shores of Vinland was Leif Eriksen. The exact whereabouts of Vinland are not so clear, but the obscurity is treated by the author in the appendix in a clever chain of reasoning that seems conclusive. And this same Leif Eriksen was the son of a Norwegian earl, whose ancestry to escape oppression had emigrated from Norway to Iceland in like manner as the early Puritans came to Plymouth. "They were not of the Vikings—the class that conducted predatory excursions over the then known seas. They established and maintained a republican form of government, which exists to this day with nominal sovereignty in the king of Denmark." "Leif Eriksen," says Professor Horsford, "was a man of the people, a scholar of the times, a man of faith, a gentleman, an athlete, a man of deeds and renown." But Professor Horsford takes the sensible view of the adventures of the Northmen which led to nothing, and does not in any sense attempt to weaken the claims of Columbus. The Northmen exercised little influence on the philosophy of maritime discovery. Columbus had "a daring, and a conception, and an intellectual train of research and deduction, at its foundation quite his own." Professor Horsford further says: "Columbus *ought* to have visited Iceland, if he could, whether he did or did not; and so of Ireland or Britain or the Faroes, and other accessible countries that would enable him to strengthen his appeal. Whatever he might have found in Thule could at the best have afforded him little aid in the mighty vision of reaching the land at the antipodes by sailing westward from the Pillars of Hercules. Columbus did not sail towards Vinland, whatever he may have learned of its discovery."





William L. Stowell.

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THE CITY OF A PRINCE*

A ROMANTIC CHAPTER IN TEXAS HISTORY

I

AT what period German immigration to the state of Texas commenced, it is difficult to determine. Some few German settlers had already established themselves there while the country was under the dominion of Spain; they came in greater numbers with the Americans who formed the "Austin Colony," locating between the Brazos and the Colorado. In the Texas War of Independence they bore their share, and a German—Ehrenberg—was one of the few survivors of Fannin's massacre at Goliad in 1836. After peace was declared those who were in the army went up into the interior of the state and made homes for themselves; they were joined by others who came from northern states, but it was not until 1840 that an exclusively German town was founded. This was called "Industry"—a name well merited by the character of its people. Later on other families settled along the Brazos and Colorado, spreading themselves from Austin to Houston; so that at the present day that section is called "Little Germany," in contradistinction to "Great Germany," which lies between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, and which afterwards received the bulk of the German immigration. Our concern is principally with this part of the state; for important political movements grew out of the large influx of foreigners, and these seemingly insignificant settlements were great factors in the sum of events which led to the annexation of Texas.

Most of the section of country lying west of the Colorado was in 1840 a savage wilderness. With sufficient area to form several kingdoms, its total population was but twelve thousand. Of these the town of San Antonio contained five thousand, four-fifths of whom were Mexicans. The rest of the population was scattered through several small villages and about their immediate vicinity. The country was an earthly paradise as

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